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POLAND

Catholic Reporter's View of Covering Papal Visit

26000755e Gdansk GWIAZDA MORZA in Polish No 6, 2 and 9 Aug 87 p 6

[Article by Ewa Gorska: "With the Papal Pilgrimage: Media Service"]

[Text] As was noted at the press conference the day before the beginning of John Paul II's third apostolic visit to Poland, a total of 510 foreign journalists from 35 countries were accredited. Most were from the U.S. with 154, with 80 from Italy, 67 from France, 57 from West Germany and 26 from Great Britain. From eight socialist countries came 46 media representatives. As regards Polish journalists, their number was set at 1,013, including 334 from the Catholic press. They had the opportunity to travel to the cities where the Holy Father was staying on a special "extraordinary" train, as was noted in the announcement at the train station. But it was not all that extraordinary since although we traveled mainly at night, it had only cars with seating places.

Organizing media services is certainly difficult and we know in advance that on such occasions there will be many shortcomings and unforeseeable difficulties, but there are situations that can be foreseen at the press center. For instance, the fact that the journalists will have to eat something during the weeklong marathon, and not necessarily in the most expensive restaurants, as it was fitting to do in Krakow. Two dining cars in the special train afforded that opportunity (although naturally the prices of the meals were at the WARS level) but at the press centers in Lublin or Lodz the opportunities were extremely meager. Warsaw deserves particular distinction in this regard: a small buffet at the press center, among the hot meals mainly cold soup, and discourteous service besides. All of this, and interminable lines as well, in a situation where time was always short, exacted a substantial toll.

It was not only difficulties with food that were unpleasant. The press center offered (at a price of course—3,500 zloty) direct closed circuit television transmission. This is necessary because not every journalist can be everywhere because of time, a limited number of places or because the presence of journalists was not anticipated. Meanwhile (in contrast to media services in 1983) one could watch only what was broadcast on the national or local channel. So to this day, no one knows what that mysterious "closed circuit" means.

Occasionally there were also problems in reaching the press section because the guides appeared to be people who were completely ignorant of the terrain. It was a bit easier to leave the press sections because generally the journalists were led out before the end of the ceremony before the crowds left. This made movement easier but it also created isolation from what was happening all

around. I experienced this after the meeting at the commons in Krakow when instead of taking the bus to the press center I went in the opposite direction, toward the train station.

I walked among the innumerable crowds which nonetheless dispersed in a very orderly way; they grew dense only where they encountered militia cordons. In various spots amid the throngs returning to their homes there were banners, songs and shouts. They were picked up by more and more people, who created a procession flowing down the center of the commons. [Law of 31 July 1981, on the control of publications and performances, art 2, par 2, 6 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, item 99, amended 1983 DZIENNIK USTAW No 44, item 204)]. On the day of the papal visit I was reminded of summer camp. Immediately after arriving on the way to the press center we encountered a "demonstration." A score of young "punks" of both sexes carrying anti-papal and anti-state banners moved down the center of the road surrounded by a police cordon (one got the impression that there were more police than demonstrators). Actually they did not arouse any interest and that protection seemed totally unnecessary. At the time I thought with irritation that such freedom is really an exaggeration.

Discussion on what to write and how to write went on in many of the train's compartments where journalists were traveling. Reporters from RZECZPOSPOLITA appeared not to have these problems; they were told at the outset that they were to provide news about the course of the papal visit based on PAP. "So why are you going at all?" I asked my traveling companion, but because he was a photojournalist, it was easier for him to justify his presence. The same question was posed to press representatives from PAX, who intended to publish the papal homilies in the original version sent to the press center. "So why are you recording, taking notes and transmitting?" "For documentation." Just documentation, just the press?

In Lodz reporters from ZYCIE WARSZAWY were looking for correspondence from Gdansk which they had sent the previous day by telex. Unfortunately, there was only PAP news.

"How should I write about Gdansk?" another neighbor from the compartment wondered. "It is best to write the truth" [Law of 31 July 1981, on the control of publications and performances, art 2, par 2, 6 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, item 99, amended 1983 DZIENNIK USTAW No 44, item 204)]. Later he gave a whole lecture on the subject. The first one listened, becoming more and more agitated, trying to explain that he was not the one.... At one point I felt truly sorry for him.

Among the foreign journalists was a TASS correspondent, a Lithuanian, a representative of the nation celebrating its 600th anniversary of Christianity this year. I asked about his impressions, about Catholics in Lithuania, about his correspondence. Although he was very

frugal with words, some of his answers were downright startling. He said, for instance, that all of Lithuania is Catholic. But he added quickly that among these Catholics there are many non-believers and, of course, faith is the private affair of each person, that everyone has a right, everyone is free, etc. [Law of 31 July 1981, on the control of publications and performances, art 2, par 2, 6 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, item 99, amended 1983 DZIENNIK USTAW No 44, item 204)]. We talked about the subject of "non-believing Catholics"—they are the ones who were baptized but for various reasons do not go to church. We did not talk about freedom and thus everyone maintained his own opinions.

Traveling throughout the country we saw full mobilization of the militia everywhere. When one saw the huge numbers of militia vehicles grouped together in various cities, it was hard to believe that there were that many of them in Poland. "At least there is no shortage of something here," said one of the foreign journalists. Photographing them was not permitted. When one of the Warsaw reporters wanted to take a picture from the bus window at Zaspá, the bus was stopped and she was given notice in a very discourteous way. But the militia and the force from the Office of Government Protection were generally polite, although every one of them usually adhered rigidly to the rules. Everywhere there were more or less thorough inspections at the entrance to press sections—searches of bags, photographic equipment, checking with detectors. No one protested—we knew that the safety of the Holy Father was at stake. But there was a surprise in Gdansk; they were taking umbrellas away from reporters (and not only from them). This had not happened anywhere before. But on the last day at the airport in Warsaw one could carry in literally everything—those letting us in were interested only in our entry cards. Strange inconsistency. As if the point was not so much the Holy Father's safety as....

Precisely, what was the point? [Law of 31 July 1981, on the control of publications and performances, art 2, par 2, 6 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, item 99, amended 1983, DZIENNIK USTAW No 44, item 204)].

For Catholic journalists participation in a meeting with the Holy Father has a dual dimension to some extent: it is not only an event of enormous significance, but also a great religious experience. It also has practical significance: one endures all difficulties and inconveniences better and not just the organizational ones. The heat, rain and long hours of anticipation too. Because we know that at the end of this anticipation there will be yet another meeting with him.

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Soviet Press Quoted on Church in Poland
26000755f Katowice GOSC NIEDZIELNY in Polish
No 30, 26 Jul 87 p 7

[Text] We read with interest an article which appeared in No 134 of CZERWONY SZTANDAR from Vilnius,

entitled "The Catholic Church in People's Poland" by Jan Ciechanowicz, who holds a degree in philosophical studies. The author says:

"In the PRL there is an extensive, strong system of atheistic education of all population groups and in recent years it has developed and expanded significantly and is using new, more effective methods of work."

He writes further:

"The PZPR Central Committee has worked out and begun implementation of a complex plan for an ideological counter-offensive whose purpose is dissemination of the influence of Marxist-Leninist philosophy to as many levels of society of the Polish population as possible and elimination of the spiritual domination of the Catholic Church in Polish society. The main object of ideological and political education is the working class, especially its rank and file who are connected with the biggest branches of industry. Particular attention is being devoted to youth.

"An extremely important ideological document, entitled 'Program for Secular Education,' has been formulated. Defined in it, while realistically taking into account an appraisal of the current state of social awareness, is a specific plan for the work of the party, socialist youth unions, the Society for the Promotion of Secular Culture, the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society and other organizations whose goal is radical change in the ideological situation in Poland and, above all, making Marxism-Leninism, including scientific atheism, the dominant ideological structure in the country. It is the first document of its kind in People's Poland, defining future strategy for ideological activity. Changes are being made in curricula, in textbooks, in the work of publishing houses, the press and scientific and research institutes in order to make atheistic education of the population universal and permanent.

"Polish communists are of the assumption that every person throughout his life should be an object of ideological education on the part of the party. And this gigantic program of atheistic (secular in Polish terminology) education is planned for decades. During its formulation, appropriate experiences from the work of Soviet, Hungarian and German (GDR) comrades were taken into consideration. It is an interesting point that in 1986 an additional but compulsory course in scientific atheism under the name of 'religious studies' was introduced into secondary schools. A textbook for pupils and educational materials for teachers are being prepared. Since 1985 a thousand teachers a year have been attending courses in the field of religious studies.

"Polish communists are counting on the fact that in the near future the ideological expansion of the Catholic Church will not only not abate but indeed will show an upward tendency. As was already noted, Catholicism is transforming the churches into centers of cultural and

political influence, the active ideological membership of the church is attempting to carry on philosophical indoctrination even among the ranks of socialist youth organizations and a large, skillful Catholic press is exerting much influence on the minds of Poles. In this situation the PZPR has selected and implemented the tactic of 'ideologically outpacing' the opponent, striving to take the initiative into its own hands. It is not an easy task. Yet in the Polish party press, on radio and television, more and more bold and significant anti-clerical material is appearing, massive training of ideological personnel has been organized on a good theoretical level (with practical direction as well) and councils, conferences and educational methods sessions are being conducted, having as their goal the improvement of atheistic education of the people and an exchange of work experiences for atheistic personnel. Constructive working contacts with Soviet specialists are exerting a beneficial influence on this process."

12776

Conference Views Proposed Changes to 'Parasite' Law

26000755g Krakow TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY
in Polish No 28, 12 Jul 87 p 2

[Article by Zofia Radzikowska: "On 'Social Parasitism'"]

[Text] The Institute for Crime Prevention and Resocialization of Warsaw University organized an academic conference whose purpose was to evaluate the operation of the law of 26 October 1982 on measures against people who avoid work. According to legislators the law, passed after long debate and contrary to the reservations of the academic community, was to fulfill the goal of inducing those to work who, up to now, did not want to work as well as to provide help in obtaining working or facilitating training for those who want to go to work. In addition, it was expected that information would be obtained about the dimensions of the phenomenon by keeping precise records on people who avoid work, providing an appropriate number of laborers and appeasing public opinion, indignant about social parasitism. After four years of the law's being in force, one can attempt to answer the questions of whether it has fulfilled its assumed goals and what its social effects are. Among the material presented at the conference, a paper by Drs Z. Ostrianska and I. Rzeplinska entitled "Operation of the Law on Measures Against Shirkers in Light of Research Results" is worthy of particular attention. The authors wanted to obtain answers to a number of questions, i.e., what is the extent of the phenomenon of shirking, how does one perceive the notion of shirking and shirkers, how have measures against these people proceeded, have the goals set for the law been achieved, what are the social consequence of the law? The research covered a period from 1 January 1983 to 30 April 1984 and involved men registered in this period in seven district offices in Warsaw. After two years the number of

those from among the men registered who had worked at least six months after registration was examined and how the work of those studied was progressing in enterprises carrying on public works was verified. During the test period, the number of men listed as avoiding work or training was 2,195, but it must be emphasized that this number does not indicate the true scale of this phenomenon, on those who have been exposed and registered—the rest comprise an unknown quantity. It turns out that less than half reported for registration on their own, and this situation persisted even one year after the law was passed. One third reported only after they had been fined for not fulfilling their obligation to register, the rest were reported by the militia or prosecutor's office—nearly 80 percent of those registered are people known to the militia for conduct requiring intervention. Even those who registered on their own did so under some kind of official pressure, i.e., proof of having reported for registration was necessary for them to deal with a particular matter. More than half of those registered had been summoned, often several times, to report to the office again, and two-thirds did not respond to the summons. Of those 2,195 people, 44.5 percent started working after being registered and 37.6 percent of those studied had worked continuously for six months. The reason for remaining out of work was known to officials in relation to six percent of the rest. One can see from this that the disciplinary effect of the law anticipated by the legislators, which was to induce the recalcitrant to submit to certain organizational measures and thereby get a job, was minimal. On the other hand, among those who went to work and stayed with it were people who reported for registration voluntarily, who had an occupation and better education, who had worked for longer periods before, who had worked at odd jobs more often, abused alcohol less and been penalized less frequently. Given this, the authors concluded, it seems valid to infer that these people had a better chance to obtain and do a job and even that "inducement" through the law was unnecessary.

Who are the people viewed as shirkers and how is this notion perceived in practice? It turns out that one-fourth of those studied actually worked irregularly or seasonally, or were employed with a private employer without taking care of required formalities—therefore, they were not shirkers but were not officially in the employment rolls. For 37 percent there was insufficient information in the files and only 37 percent were people who were actually not working. Of these, almost 40 percent gave reasons that would be understood by the public and should be viewed as justified, such as: expectation of being called into the army or preparation for a repeat college entrance examination, anticipation of a disability pension, reinstatement to work or a trip abroad. There were people helping their parents with farm work, involved with building their own home and finally, sick people or those who remained dependent on their families. A large group, about 29 percent, said they were taking care of a member of their family and only 31

percent gave reasons that would not be socially acceptable, i.e., rest after leaving a penal institution, alcoholism, difficulty in finding work or a declaration of an aversion to work. Thus one can see that the percentage of people to whom one could apply the term "social parasites," a phenomenon that should arouse public indignation, is really marginal and with this group such appraisals must be applied carefully, if only for two reasons: alcoholism and conviction records. Nearly three-fourths of those studied abuse alcohol and one-third have been held in detoxification cells, most of them several times, which may point to a condition that makes them incapable of lasting permanently in any kind of job. Forty-five percent of those studied had been convicted, one-fourth were repeat offenders and 60 percent had at least one year of imprisonment behind them. This is not a situation that facilitates finding a job and registering them as "shirkers" and sending them to work in that capacity causes further censure—there have been instances where companies refused employment to those registered as being bad workers.

Did the law ensure an increase in manpower? Compare the 2,195 registered in the research period with the 18,000 jobs available in Warsaw on 31 December 1983. If one recalls that only some of those registered want to work, the answer is clearly negative.

The law anticipated that the offices should help in finding work or training. How did it turn out in practice? As a rule, the body that executes the law was not in a position to offer help and its role was limited to sending people to another body—to the employment office or to treatment—so it was an intermediate bureaucratic link. Thus the actual role of these bodies was based on exerting pressure and ultimately—in relation to the most recalcitrant—repressive action, such as directing them to public works jobs, registering people who obstinately avoid work, bringing on an application for penalties. One-fourth of the people were directed to public works jobs and of these two-thirds did not pick up their notices, 15 percent reported but quit and eight percent performed the work, a minimal number in relation to the efforts and costs invested in organizing public works.

The results presented in the paper have a negative undertone and in the authors' opinion they call into question the very advisability of special legal regulation of so-called social parasites. This view was also reinforced in the remarks of many participants. A representative of the Employment Division also spoke: he said that the law should be repealed or amended since it has not fulfilled anyone's expectation, the law does not allow for forcing people to work or provide the means to gain control over the problem, there is a lack of enforcement legislation, job positions and specialized personnel, and over 600,000 zloty has already been lost on those public works carried out thus far. Preparations to change the law were also disclosed at the conference. Contrary to all that was said above, the proposed changes are moving in the direction of further repression. Anticipated in a bill

prepared by the Ministry of Justice are modified methods of pressure along with shifting the burden of proof to persons whom the measures affect; for example, up to now one could view as an obstinate shirker one who, despite being registered, avoids accepting a job or training and earns a living from sources not disclosed or contrary to the principles of coexistence. The proposal anticipates that this can apply to a person who, within one month, does not accept work or training and does not provide credible information that he is supporting himself from a source that is not contrary to the principles of coexistence! The present article 11 provides that a person recorded in the files may be summoned by an administrative body to file a declaration of his means of support. In relation to these people the appropriate tax bodies establish the amount of income not covered by disclosed sources and levy a suitable income tax. Now the regulation is to provide for compelling such a person to submit a documented declaration of his sources of income by the end of each month. Registered persons would also be compelled to inform the administrative body about every change in permanent or temporary residence (this would constitute restriction of freedom which, according to law, can occur only in the event of a jail sentence by a court or municipal judge). Finally, companies would be obliged, within the bounds of advertised available positions, to employ people recommended for work by the administrative body, under penalty of a 50,000 zloty fine. (This proposal drew protests from all the sides participating in amending the bill as contrary to the principles of economic reform.) It must be added that the bill provides for one positive change—namely, it would free from the obligation to report to administrative organs in order to submit an explanation of the reasons for not working those people who are incapable of working or training because of mental illness, mental retardation, dependence on alcohol or intoxicating or mood-altering substances or other types of psychological disorders confirmed by doctor's certificate.

But the greatest amazement and protest was caused by a proposal added to the bill for a change in the misdemeanor code by including in it the following regulation: Whoever derives his means of support from sources contrary to law or principles of social coexistence is subject to arrest. Introducing such a rule would mean first repeal of the rule that only one who commits an act described by the law (through citation of its objective features and circumstances) is subject to criminal accountability, and second, circumvention of injunctions arising out of international conventions signed and ratified by the PRL because the rule could be applied regardless of sex or age. The ministry's representative present at the conference explained that the proposal is intended to be an alternative: either a change in the law on measures against shirkers or a change in the misdemeanor code, while the combination of these proposals was accomplished later. But as was said unequivocally at the conference, this does not change the negative significance of both proposals. Stanislaw Podemski evaluated

them aptly in his article in *POLITYKA*, "Into the Drawer." Precisely, into the drawer or simply, into the wastebasket.

12776

Philosopher Views Marxist Theory Weaknesses, Worker Conflicts

26000672 Warsaw *PRAWO I ZYCIE* in Polish No 24, 13 Jun 87 pp 3,4

[Interview with Prof Dr hab Tadeusz Pluzanski, director, Department of Contemporary Philosophy, Institute of Philosophy and Sociology, Polish Academy of Sciences, by Joanna Konieczna: "Whom In Our Country Is the Working Class Fighting?"]

[Text] [Question] Let's talk about the philosophy of work, in both its theoretical and practical aspects. Marx's views were not uniform on this issue.

[Answer] During his youth, Marx severely criticized the work done by the laborer and the proletariat in the situation of social and economic exploitation, when it was merely the owner of labor that was sold. Marx speaks clearly about the alienation of work. In the first volume of "Das Kapital," he presents the position of an economist, analyzing work as an economic category and treating it as a single-direction relationship between the subject of the work, or worker, and the object of the work, or an element of nature. This is a direct, objective position, but in his book, there is a passage rarely observed, in which Marx says that work is the basic form of material exchange between man and nature. Man acts on nature, but he thereby also changes his own nature.

[Question] But Marx did not develop that thread. In his considerations, very little space is devoted at all to man or anthropology.

[Answer] This really is a certain weakness of the theory, especially in light of the current discussions going on between Christian and Marxist circles. The accusation Christian thinkers pose that Marxism does not fully appreciate the subjective factor would seem correct. The subject of the work was only the one who contributed the labor force. If Marx is speaking about people in this context, then it is about those who represent the socio-economic attitudes and relations here, but in the course of Marx's proof we can find views that can serve as the point of departure for resolving the subjective position.

[Question] Did this solution appear in later years?

[Answer] Not many have dealt with this subject, unfortunately. Gyorgy Lukacs, the famous Hungarian Marxist, no longer living, says that work is the basic model of social existence, but this still did not imply taking the subjective factor into proper account. Lukacs views the work process as the ontological source of freedom, because before a person begins work, he must have a

picture of the object he is to produce, set some goal for himself. This is an intellectual operation, not a physical one. Intellect, understanding, and imagination take part in it. Setting a goal is related to the element of choice. Among the many goals we have before us, we select only one. In addition, the means of accomplishing the goal must also be selected, and again we are dealing with choice. Therefore, aside from social considerations, work, for it to exist, presents the person with the need to make a choice, and choice is after all an act of freedom. It is a purely human, subjective act.

In using as a point of departure the hypotheses of historical materials, the views of Marx and also Lukacs, therefore, we should analyze work as a two-directional relationship: man's influence on nature and nature's influence on man. The latter part of the relationship has rarely been properly considered by Marxists.

If we look at this two-directional relationship, the question arises as to what type of values are created not only by the subjective side but also by the objective side. Of course, on the objective side, there are the material values which then become economic values, but on the subjective side values also accumulate that are not economic in nature. These are subjective values, such as the freedom that arises during the process of work, and this freedom is a moral value. The same is true of imagination, understanding, will, and commitment to work. This implies certain consequences. The working subject right during the work process acquires features which determine what we can call his personality. Also during the work process he acquires certain values which reach into the axiological sphere. A person at a high level of personality development reaches a stage in which he not only demonstrates the ability to make simple, utilitarian value judgments but also learns to discern in the moral sense. For this type of developed personality I would propose that we introduce the term "human person." "Personality" is a psychological category, but "human person" is a philosophical one.

[Question] Is this not approaching the considerations of some Christian philosophers?

[Answer] In some sense yes. It is obvious that in the dialogue between Christians and Marxists that we are observing and participating in, there is some common inspiration. In taking up Christian personalism I noticed that in this philosophical direction there were certain values that could be applied in reflection appropriate for historical materialism.

[Question] Does the reserve process also occur?

[Answer] Yes, for example, Marx used the concept of alienation rather frequently, and this category has been adapted by Christian thought. It appeared for the first time in the personalists in the 1930's.

The greatest Christian thinkers admit that Marx's social and economic analyses are irreplaceable and that his analysis of the social conflict of his time was the optimal one. For this reason there is no reason not to use them, although a somewhat different construction is built on them. For example, it is a question of a spiritual revolution along with the socioeconomic one.

In the writings of John Paul II, for example, we can find the problem of alienation, although he does not use this term. He talks about separation, or isolation. In the encyclicals "Redemptor hominis" and "Laborem exercens," he describes a situation in which man creates and his products begin to endanger him not only on the individual level but also on a general level. He demonstrated a concept that is necessary from the Christian viewpoint, the concept of man based on the philosophy of work with emphasis on its subjective nature. Christians and Marxists converge on this point. The continuation of these deliberations, of course, leads to different conclusions. John Paul II is inclined to believe that the person is before work and work before capital, that the value of work consists in the fact that it is performed by a human person. On the other hand, we think that the value of man stems from the fact that he does work, that is, that he shapes both natural reality and spiritual reality. The source of human values, in our view, is to be found in the order of the world's material and social reality.

[Question] How does it happen that work comes to be a factor of anthropogenesis?

[Answer] This is not comprehensible without referring to Hegel, who wrote far more profoundly about work than Marx did. The master forces the slave to work, and thereby creates the situation in which the slave has direct contact with the thing. This means that the slave has an influence on the thing, shapes it, masters it. He transfers part of his personality, intellect, imagination, and sense of beauty to the object which he creates and joins this object to his world. At the same time he has mastery over himself, which represents the second positive element of work. In addition, it is just in work, shaping its object, that he makes the values he has transmitted in it permanent. These three factors give work its features of anthropogenesis. In the end the slave comes to the conclusion that he is more important than the master, because the latter, by not creating anything, keeps only consumption for himself, taking away from the slave the results of his work. Therefore the master is entirely unnecessary to him. Then the slave's emancipation comes, doing away with this condition of dependence.

If we adopt Marx's concept in this model, replacing the slave with the proletariat and the master with the capitalist, we see that increasing the human values in the slave to the culmination point is the factor approaching revolution, revolutionary awareness. All this happens against the backdrop of reflections on work.

[Question] Is it not too one-sided to view work solely from the positive side?

[Answer] The more factors of understanding freedom, social feeling, and its nature there are in work, the greater influence of anthropogenesis. The less there are, the lesser the extent to which work has these positive features.

[Question] After all, there are concrete conditions under which a person in the work process does not commit his intellect, imagination, or even his will.

[Answer] Because he is forced to work for, perhaps, economic reasons. Actually, he may be deprived of having an influence on any sort of decisions related to work, because someone else decides for him, somebody else sets the goal, and somebody else says what means he is to use or even puts them into his hand. Then the role of his imagination, intellect, and will are nearly zero. If here he furthermore has no sense of ownership of the means of production, the typical situation of alienation is created, as Marx described it in 1844.

And what Marx said about alienation is applicable to an enormous extent in the contemporary situation. It may be, talking about alienation in socialism, that from the ideological point of view we are committing a mortal sin. On the other hand, we are right to bring up this subject from the viewpoint of philosophy, because the problem of alienation applies to a similar degree to work presently being done under both capitalism and socialism.

[Question] So there is no real difference from the viewpoint of principles?

[Answer] The formal difference consists of the fact that under socialism ownership has become public ownership, government ownership, but for the employee in a large factory, the sense of public ownership is rather distant. If this awareness has not been shaped by other means, such as ideological ones or those from the area of social psychology, then it makes little difference to him whether the owner of his factory is the government or a group of private capitalists. For him, what counts is what he gets from his work. If he earns a lot, he is satisfied. If he earns little, he is dissatisfied. Of course, I am oversimplifying things.

[Question] You can see here the difference between historical philosophical solutions on this subject at the beginning and the situation being described here.

[Answer] Philosophy tries to grasp the essence of life. It cannot do this using purely ideological considerations. It has to seek the truth, even if this truth is very bitter, because ideology divorced from the truth is bound to perish. It withers, loses its influence, becomes empty words that do not reach the person. This is an exceptionally important moment in the philosophy of work.

[Question] Actually a dilemma.

[Answer] I think so. Of course, this would take more extensive research. I suspect that the fact of the state's taking over the ownership of the means of production has meant that the conflict that exists under capitalism between capital and work has to a great extent shifted to our sphere. The worker is a worker, a thing a thing. The owner of the means of production has changed, but the conflict between labor and capital has basically remained. I am warning you that this is a supposition, a working hypothesis. It would be extremely difficult to prove it. We have very poor research material at our disposal.

[Question] Is not such an explanation a hedge?

[Answer] There are also factors which try to get around the conflict, to blur the problem, and they do themselves harm by blurring it, because there is nothing worse than to operate in an imaginary world of values and relationships. Then the most noble intentions and the greatest idea are for nothing.

I am afraid — this is another hypothesis — that this is just what in political and journalistic language is called breaking the bond with the masses. On the one hand, the elite, to which the political and economic officials belong, the so-called decision-makers, and, on the other hand, the masses. And either this bond exists...

[Question] Just what exactly does that mean: the bond exists?

[Answer] Then the employee is convinced that he is actually working for himself, that he feels himself to be a member of the social grouping. Or else he does not feel he is a member and treats that ownership as someone else's. And for him it is all the same whether it is a group of private owners or decision-makers. It seems to me that this is the essence of the basic conflict that presently exists in the socialist system. It has not been extinguished. People still talk about class struggle, but the question arises: Who is fighting whom? There is no longer any proletariat in the Marxist sense. Sociologically speaking, it is something entirely different now. There the conflict took place between work and capital, between worker and capitalist, but whom is the working class fighting in our country? Indeed, 7 years ago there was a very tense battle that could have led to catastrophe, but to this very day we have not answered entirely satisfactorily the question of what the class underpinnings of this conflict were.

Where work is well organized — there still are some plants like that, although not too many — the conflicts and problems are not so severe.

[Question] Within the framework of the reform, there is currently a discussion over various forms of ownership, over the proper management of labor; group work, brigades.

[Answer] These are signals that many people think that the problem of ownership has to be resolved somehow in the socialist system. It may be that it would be good for the government to take over key means of production, like heavy industry, the railroads, aviation, and so on, and for there to be an agreement that small- and medium-size manufacturing must be transferred to cooperatives. Provided that these were genuine cooperatives and not bodies that are basically agencies of the government, like the housing cooperative movement or "Spolem" [food marketing "cooperatives"]. At this intermediate level if we were to bring back the cooperative system, this would maybe bring about an economic awakening tied to the activation of social energy.

[Question] Let us go back to Marx for a moment again. In "Das Kapital," he also talks about the notion that to an increasingly greater extent a person will be liberated from the coercion to work and will develop his personality in his free time.

[Answer] Indeed, shortening working time in favor of free time. Relatively speaking, work more and more is becoming less a factor of anthropogenesis than elements operating in free time.

[Question] In what way does self-realization come about in free time?

[Answer] A person at that time operates in innumerable interactions that develop him. In the work process we have been dealing with the object and the subject. Here we are dealing only with subjects: child and family, pupil and educator, prosecutor and defendant. Now the process of training the person and the human individual, which is begun in the work process, is continued outside work.

[Question] Which has diminished work's significance in terms of anthropogenesis.

[Answer] I think that work remains the basic model of existence in society.

[Question] Has its creative significance expanded or diminished?

[Answer] Hard to say. Let us compare a person presently working on a conveyor belt with the situation of a slave in Greece or Rome. We can also consider whether slave labor, for example, in concentration camps — I myself spent several years in one of these — completely deintellectualized, enslaved, done under direct coercion, because at any moment the person could lose his life, served a humanizing function or not. It seems to me that this work which was supposed to destroy, nonetheless

provided minimal satisfaction, if only by filling the time. While I was working in a concentration camp carpenter's shop, I received the order to build the camp commandant's children a miniature of a medieval castle out of wood. To this very day, despite the lack of freedom and the coercion of the time — after all, this was exactly the situation of a slave — even today it is not without satisfaction that I recall that I was successful in making a good model of a castle.

There is something magical in work, something that shapes, changes, and expands.

It seems to me that for this very reason it should become the subject of profound study. I suppose that this way we could fill the gap between Marxist thought, which is inclined to treat the human person solely as a social entity, while he is without any doubt also an axiological entity. If we are to treat seriously Marx's statement that the human person is the highest essence for the human person.

10790

Party Activities Calendar, 22 June-5 July 1987
26000741 Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 14.
15 Jul 87 p 22

[Article: "Party Chronicle 22 June-5 July 1987"]

[Text]

Meetings of the Central Committee Politburo
23 June
The Politburo:

- Learned about the status of conversion to computer information in the national economy and about the application of robots and automation in production process;
- Reviewed findings from an analysis of the influence the present self-financing system in enterprises and scientific-research facilities is having in increasing the economy's capacity for innovation and making it more effective;
- Learned about statutory regulatory activity being undertaken by party monitoring and auditing commissions with regard to party members guilty of charges of neglect confirmed by government and public oversight groups.

Fourth CKKR Plenum
30 June

- On the basis of audits run prior to the meeting, the CKKR set down tasks for plant party organizations, to see to better management and the eradication of pathological phenomena in enterprises. The meeting was chaired by Włodzimierz Mokrzyński, chairman of CKKR, member of the Politburo.

Conferences and Meetings
22 June

- Central Committee Secretary Andrzej Wasilowski met with members of the Presidium of the Main Administration of the Polish Film Makers Association. There was a discussion of cinematography under the conditions of the reform being carried out in Poland.

23 June

- First Secretary of the Central Committee and Chairman of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski received Deputy Premier Boris L. Tolstykh, chairman of the USSR State Committee on Science and Technology. Deputy Premier Zbigniew Szalajda took part in the talks, and Soviet ambassador Vladimir Brevikov attended the meeting.
- Central Committee Secretary Andrzej Wasilewski received the leadership of Cepelia CZSRLIA. Tadeusz Sawic, head of the Central Committee's Department of Culture, attended the meeting.

24 June

- In Warsaw a meeting of agricultural secretaries of the Voivodship Committee was devoted to major party tasks in the rural community during the summer. The deliberations were chaired by Zbigniew Michalik, secretary of the Central Committee and member of the Politburo. Kazimierz Grzesiak, head of the Central Committee's Agricultural Department, attended the meeting.
- There was a session of the General Assembly and Board of Directors of the Prasa-Książka-Ruch RSW. The report of RSW activity in 1986 was adopted along with the balance-sheet, and the surplus was distributed. Jan Glowczyk, secretary of the Central Committee and member of the Politburo, chaired the meeting.
- Józef Czyrek, secretary of the Central Committee and member of the Politburo, received representatives of communist and workers parties from countries of the socialist community who attended the session on the development of satellite television and other mass communication techniques.

25 June

- The Central Committee's Commission on Intraparty Affairs and Party Activity in Representative Bodies and Government Administration met in Lodz, with Józef Baryla, secretary of the Central Committee and member of the Politburo, presiding. The commission reviewed the Lodz organization's contribution to the activity of local party organizations.

27 June

- The Commission on Youth, Physical Education and

Tourism assessed the preparations for summer recreation. There was also a discussion of youth participation in the country's government, social, economic and cultural life, and suggestions were adopted concerning increasing the influence physical education and tourism have on the moral development of children and young adults. Central Committee Secretary Kazimierz Cypryniak chaired the meeting.

30 June

- Politburo member and Central Committee Secretary Jozef Baryla received General Nguyen Quyeta, secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam, deputy chairman of the council of state, and chief of the main political administration of the Vietnamese People's Army, who came to Poland as head of a delegation of the army's main political administration.

1 July

- A meeting of organizational secretaries of the Voivodship Committee was held at the PZPR Central Committee (headquarters). There was a discussion of the progress in reviewing the organizational structures in the party and the current tasks in the party's political organizing work implied by the resolutions of the Fourth Central Committee Plenum. Central Committee Secretary Kazimierz Cypryniak chaired the meeting.

2 July

- The Central Committee's Commission on the Family ended its two-day session in Bielsko-Biala. There was a discussion of recreation for employees, young people, children, as well as preparations for the summer season in the voivodship. Politburo member Zofia Stepien chaired the meeting.

3 July

- The Central Committee's Commission on Economic Policy, the Economic Reform, and Employee Self-Management held a discussion and then adopted a position on the hypotheses for the second stage of the economic reform. Marian Wozniak, secretary of the Central Committee and member of the Politburo, chaired the meeting.

In the Party Echelons and Organizations

22 June

- The Voivodship Committee in Cheim discussed ways to improve the effectiveness of ideological and moral training in the voivodship party organization.
- The Voivodship Committee in Kielce evaluated the status of health care and social assistance in the voivodship and discussed problems of activating the

party organizations following the Fourth Party Plenum.

- The Voivodship Committee in Przemysl reviewed the operation of personnel policies in the voivodship. Wladyslaw Honkisz, head of the Central Committee's Personnel Policy Department, attended the meeting.

24 June

- In Slupsk there was a joint session of the voivodship committees of the PZPR, ZSL, and SD devoted to a discussion of implementation of the voivodship's environmental protection program. In attendance were Gabriela Rembisz, Politburo alternate, and Boguslaw Kedzia, head of the Central Committee's Department of Science, Education, and Technical Progress.

25 June

- Marian Wozniak, Central Committee secretary and member of the Politburo, met in Szczecin with representatives of key enterprises in the maritime economy.
- The Voivodship Committee in Katowice discussed the population's health situation and the operation of public health facilities in the region. The deliberations were conducted by Bogumil Ferenczajna, secretary of the Voivodship Committee and Politburo alternate. Among those in attendance was Zygmunt Muranski, member of the Politburo.
- The Voivodship Committee in Wlclawek met to consider ways to carry out the resolutions of the Fourth Party Plenum.

27 June

- The Voivodship Committee in Bielsko Biala had a discussion on bolstering the discipline and effectiveness of party action.
- The Voivodship Committee in Bydgoszcz reviewed problems related to expanding the party's influence in the women's community. The meeting was attended by Gabriela Rembisz, Politburo alternate, and by Henryk Bednarski, secretary of the Central Committee.
- The Voivodship Committee in Konin met to discuss the POP's increased role and activity in the voivodship's sociopolitical and economic life in the light of the resolutions of the Fourth Central Committee Plenum.
- The Voivodship Committee in Poznan discussed tasks in developing scientific and technical progress in Wielkopolska industry. Tadeusz Porebski, secretary of the Central Committee and member of the Politburo, attended the deliberations.
- The Voivodship Committee in Tarnow devoted its discussion to problems of combatting manifestations of social pathology.
- The Voivodship Committee in Walbrzych assessed

past efforts to bolster basic party groups and set out tasks for the future.

- In Slupsk, within the framework of the "Sea Days" festival, political and administrative officials met with distinguished employees of the maritime economy. Marian Wozniak, secretary of the Central Committee and member of the Politburo, attended.

29 June

- The Voivodship Committee in Piotrkow Trybunalski discussed the POP role and tasks stemming from the resolutions of the Fourth Central Committee Plenum. Jozef Baryla, secretary of the Central Committee and member of the Politburo, took part in the deliberations.
- The Voivodship Committee in Suwalki reviewed the problems of women's professional and social involvement. Gabriela Rembisz, deputy member of the Politburo, took part in the deliberations.
- The Voivodship Committee in Leszno assessed the condition of the party in the voivodship and described the action aimed at increasing the activity of the POPs in the light of the tasks set down at the Fourth Central Committee Plenum. Stanislaw Gabrielski, head of the Central Committee's Political Organizing Department, attended the deliberations.
- The Voivodship Committee in Rzeszow reviewed the problems of party work in the youth community.
- In Wroclaw there was an activists' meeting devoted to the tasks implied by the Fourth Central Committee Plenum. There was also a discussion of preparations made up to the present for applying the principles of the second stage of the economic reform. Tadeusz Porebski, secretary of the Central Committee and member of the Politburo, attended the meeting.

1 July

- Jozef Baryla, Central Committee Secretary and member of the Politburo, came to Eltra in Bydgoszcz. There he learned about the inculcation of modern technology into the production processes and met with members of the local POP.

2 July

- The Voivodship Committee in Plock discussed the level of decapitalization of fixed assets in the region's industry, management effectiveness, and the development of production for export.
- The Voivodship Committee in Torun discussed preparations for implementing the second stage of the economic reform.

Interparty Cooperation

- A PZPR Central Committee delegation visited Israel. In the delegation were Stanislaw Gabrielski, Central

Committee member and head of the Political Organizing Department, and Bogumil Sujka, deputy director of the Foreign Department. The delegation held talks with members of the leadership of the Communist Party of Israel and was received by its general secretary, Meir Vilner.

- Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak, member of the Politburo and chairman of the CKKR, went to Yugoslavia. Mokrzyszczak held talks with Radis Gaciccia, secretary of the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Communist Union (ZKJ); Ivan Bragic, member of the union's presidium; and Yuvo Ugrić, chairman of the union's statutes commission.
- Jozef Czyrek, secretary of the Central Committee and member of the Politburo, met with Hamed Karoui, member of the Politburo of the Constitutional Socialist Party and Minister of Youth and Sport in Tunisia, who arrived in Poland.
- Andrzej Wasilewski, PZPR Central Committee Secretary, was received by Gustav Husak, secretary general of the Czech Communist Party, during a working visit to Prague.

26 June

- A working group from the state and law department of the Central Committee of the NSPJ, with sector head Werner Boehme, arrived in Poland. The delegation was greeted by Stanislaw Gabrielski, head of the Central Committee's Political Organizing Department.

27 June

- Stanislaw Brjger, Politburo alternate and secretary of the Voivodship Committee in Gdansk, met with Nacho Papaov, chairman of the control and audit commission of the Bulgarian Communist Party's Central Committee, who was visiting the Baltic shore area.
- A party-government delegation headed by Jan Glowczyk, secretary of the Central Committee and member of the Politburo, arrived in Algeria to attend festivities celebrating the 25th anniversary of the country's liberation. The delegation held talks with the leadership of the Central Committee of the Algerian National Liberation Front Party concerning an expansion of multilateral political, cultural, and economic cooperation.

10790

Intelligentsia in PZPR, Among Opposition
26000755d Gdansk GWIAZDA MORZA in Polish
No 16, 2, 9 Aug 87 p 2

[Article by Ireneusz Bialecki in RES PUBLICA No 1:
"Black on White"]

[Text] There are more party members among the intelligentsia than among workers or peasants. Estimates vary but it appears that among people with a higher

education, 30 to 40 percent belong to the PZPR while, on the average, the proportion among workers does not exceed 10 percent. Among managers—and this is probably not too surprising—membership in the PZPR reaches 90 percent. More frequent membership in the PZPR is explained by the notion that the intelligentsia is more involved in management structures than other classes and therefore more dependent on the government and state. But at the same time—and this is another example of the duality of the situation—during the Solidarity period the intelligentsia was and still remains one of the classes most in opposition to the government. Even more interesting, it is a group in which oppositional inclinations have not diminished since 1981, which distinguishes it from workers and peasants, for example. The intelligentsia are also more frequently in favor of economic reform and the introduction of market principles into the economy than other groups. Naturally, the intensity of these reformist and oppositional inclinations varies within different parts of the intelligentsia.

12776

Obuchowski on Society Versus 'Center'

26000755c Warsaw *POLITYKA* in Polish No 30,
25 Jul 87 p 2

[Excerpts from an interview with Prof Kazimierz Obuchowski, psychologist from Poznan, with Zygfryd Klaus, WPROST, 28 June 1987]]

[Text] "...prolonging the present situation is the worst solution and...in the end the government must take the risk and trust society. Unfortunately, it seems to me that many people from the Center do not want to take that risk because they are afraid that the process that will ensue as a result of increasing society's authority will slip through their hands. And they are right—it certainly will slip through. Then it will turn out that many of them are superfluous. Except that in this situation others will reveal strategic talents crucial to governing contemporary society. Of course, this raises the question: how long can one postpone making such decisions. There is less and less time. Misgivings? For some time our society has not been the kind that wants or needs to be led by the hand, that comprehends little of what is going on in the world or the country."

12776

New Catholic Intelligentsia Club

26000755a Warsaw *PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI*
in Polish No 30, 26 Jul 87 p 8

[Text] The Catholic Intelligentsia Club [KKI] was registered on 26 May 1987 by a resolution of the Social-Administrative Department of the Plock Municipal Office. With the same decision the expectations of the

city's Catholic community, which for some time had attempted to create an association of lay Catholics recognized by the church, were fulfilled.

The first plan to establish the club originated in the fall of 1981. The introduction of martial law precluded continuation of preparatory work. Attempts to register the club persisted. In January 1986 a founding committee was formed and in April the application for registration of the KIK was filed. After three months of waiting, the authorities refused the request.

Another application for registration was filed in July 1986.

The initiative for creating the club met with the approval and support of Bishop Zygmunt Kaminski, the apostolic administrator in Plock, who was involved from the beginning in bringing the initiative to a favorable conclusion.

In the first stage of efforts at registration the club's founders took advantage of the spiritual care of the director of the diocesan museum, Rev Lech Grabowski. Then Rev Ireneusz Mroczkowski took on the role of minister and fulfills it to this day. The bishop has named him the club's church assistant.

In June of this year a general meeting of the founders and regular members of the KIK took place. A ten-person board was elected and by-laws for the remainder of the year were adopted. Jerzy Wawszczak was elected president of the KIK, Eugeniusz Alekandrowicz and Kazimierz Cieslik vice-presidents, Anna Kozera secretary and Wlodzimierz Szafranski treasurer.

The formal inauguration of the KIK's work, in which the bishop of Plock will participate, will take place in September.

12776

Kurz on 'Socialist Utopias'

26000755b Warsaw *POLITYKA* in Polish No 30,
25 Jul 87 p 2

[Excerpts in an interview with Andrzej Kurz, president of the Association of Polish Authors and director of the Literary Publishing House, with Zdzislaw Otalega, *GAZETA KRAKOWSKA*, 22 June 1987]

[Text] (...) "It's ridiculous to say that we have the best resolutions on the quality of products or environmental protection if they are unfeasible because they are utopian. It has not been necessary to nourish socialism with utopias for 140 years. I have written a great many 'correct' resolutions in my life and I know something about this subject. And another myth keeps coming back—that all that is necessary is a strong person to put things right. Not true! We do not need a Messiah or discipline in carrying out his messianic instructions, but

rather a system of collective thought, a stripping away of myths and utopias—although they may be called socialist—and affirmative action forced by the economic system."

12776

ROMANIA

Criticisms of Collectivization Implied

27000256 Cluj-Napoca TRIBUNA in Romanian No 29,
16 Jul 87 p 5

[Article by Augustin Buzura: "Pseudo-journal 24"]

[Text] Two decades ago I undertook to investigate the thorny problem of collectivization "in the field" and to verify a truth I had known since my adolescence. I was well aware what had taken place around me in Maramures, but I thought that things would happen differently elsewhere. And so, going from Maramures to Apuseni and from Banat to Oltenia, in packed trains, through rural train stations and cafeterias, in fields and in the houses of so many farmers I knew—not all of them chance acquaintances, I listened attentively to what was said to me, convinced that later I would have to commit to paper at least a small part of the huge amount of material accumulated. I knew that only by writing would I be able to free myself from this painful obsession. There are, of course, statistics, reports, figures, findings, and so forth on this crucial aspect of the farmer's life, but of course they do not explain everything. They do not tell how something has happened and what were the feelings, questions, and hopes of the protagonists. They cannot reproduce the intimate mechanism and the color of an event or convey to the reader the questions to which he himself must find an answer. Everything that is happening or has happened has not been possible without his participation and his contribution. Each person is responsible for everything that happens around him, and the world can be no better than he is, this individual with thousands upon thousands of counterparts united or divided by history. The writer is one of this multitude and through literature he asks but also publicizes because doing so is above all a moral act.

In these travels I had the opportunity to make the acquaintance of a very large number of people; some of them history has borne upon the crest of its wave, while it has crushed others without mercy. Later I tried to write also about losers and winners, but without the feeling that I had done my full duty. Many facts stuck in my memory, although I did not think that I would have time to come back to them. Description of conflicts which you have had to witness or in which you have been directly involved takes more than 2 years. It would take 3 normal lifetimes free of too many of the unnatural things we encounter at every turn. The events are still alive in my mind, but I do not know what has happened to the persons I knew at that time. I have not kept in touch with them. My duties and interests have taken me elsewhere,

and of all that happened there has remained a book, *Fetele tacerii* [Faces of Silence], which was privately printed, a book and a living person who changed in its own image. The man involved looked me up after the novel came out. He believed that somewhere in one of the chapters I had related an event involving him, a trivial event which could have happened to any of thousands of peasants, since the methods of explanation were more or less the same everywhere. "Sir," he said to me, "I have been told that you wrote about me," trying to recall the situation and the pages in the book on which it was described. "It is alright, but you did not write the main thing. That is why I have come to see you, to propose that we continue to write together. Come to my home, I will tell you what you ought to write, then you go home, put it down on paper. I do not have the time to do this. You let me read it, and we will share the money." I did not refuse him at that time; it would have been impossible. However, I did re-read the pages involved, and I was astonished. Is this what he suffered? This is something that could have caused him to suffer. That is, is this all that he understood of what happened? And if everyone understood it as he did, does it still deserve to be written about? If this is all that stays with you of what happened to you, events may be repeated in just the same way. As with all the other books, I believed that this one would be a second volume. That is, I let him read several pages on which I related an event in which he had also been a protagonist. Of course, he did not say anything to me after he learned that we had not struck a bargain. He read it carefully, but he did not like it. The sentences were too long and complicated, and of course I erred in stressing the part played by others. He seemed to be convinced that the historical process involved, collectivization, had been carried out exclusively so that he could play the most important role. He had come to me, of course, to see if I was interested in striking a bargain, since he had found another one. Even a few days ago he asked me my position. I told him that I had no time for the present, but that maybe some time in the future I would. The man is so absurd, so narrowminded, and I do not know what else that there would be no point in refusing him outright, because he would not understand at all. I was thinking, though, that his ideas about what I had written did not differ from those of others I have met during my life. You do not write for one category or another, of course, for one individual or another, but you hope that they will come to understand the purpose of this work, that you aim at the ideal reader fiction which you hope will be understood correctly. You also write to free yourself from pain, from pressure, to make way for another in the space it leaves behind. You also write for a thousand other reasons. Did the orientals not use to say that whoever mounts a tiger can never dismount, however many times he might like to.

In an old notebook I rediscovered the motivation of Omar I, the caliph who in 641 converted what was left of the great library of Alexandria to fuel for the public baths. "If those Greek writings are in harmony with the Koran, then they are not needed and do not deserve to be

kept. If they depart from the Koran, then they are dangerous and should be destroyed." I do not remember other details, because I have not re-read the book by Wolf Schneider published years ago by the Editura Politica, but even without these details it can clearly be seen that great decisions are not always preceded by sophisticated discussions and reasoning or by complicated processes of conscious thinking.

6115

**Writer Distinguishes 'Patriotism' From
'Nationalism'**

27000260a Bucharest LUCEAFARUL in Romanian
No 31, 1 Aug 87 pp 1,11

[Commentary by Ion Lancranjan, "Standing With Our Country"]

[Text] I do not know if it has been said before, but for me, I have long believed that the anthological poem, "The Wondrous Seed," goes to the very heart of all that was and is evolving in our country. I would even say that this poem could not have been written except in a time like today—a time of toil and hope, a time when a drop of sweat becomes a bead of light, sparkling ever brighter. Many will disagree with this assertion, criticizing me for involving Lucian Blaga in a story in which he had no part. But precisely because he did participate, Lucian Blaga could not but be moved by the times in which he lived, by the good and noble efforts of an entire people. The last years of his life were shadowed by injustice, he himself held guilty for all that he endured in those years—in the view of some—his being forced into the semi-darkness was only a natural part of a great and inevitable "ideological battle," as if that battle could not take place without obscuring national values. But it is not about guilt that I want to speak, but about the way Lucian Blaga addressed our times, about the echo in his consciousness formed by the creative effort of the people of which he was one, the irremediable pains they endured ever failing to embitter or estrange him. One simply cannot imagine Lucian Blaga divorcing his country from here, or from who knows where, one of dissent and confusion as have so many of the mill-malcontents done and continue to do—people caught up in waves of hostility, wretched souls who cannot see that they are not who they imagine themselves to be.

Eulogizing the seeds—"Praise to the seeds, to those here and hereafter!"—Lucian Blaga eulogized, as only he could, the transformations in his country, a country to which he was linked heart and soul. His ties were like those of all the creative geniuses from Romania, from us. Some of them, as was the case with Eminescu, giving everything in this love—the works from their souls being directly conditioned by their self-denial, their intrinsic patriotism being a question of life or death—not some trifle, some convenient cloak to throw on.

Indeed, the work of Lucian Blaga was not unique in the times of which I speak. Other men of culture embraced those same aspirations—Arghezi, Sadoveanu, Vianu, Calinescu—naturally after they had run the gauntlet of anticultural, antinational obstructionists, who in the name of revolution launched their attacks against great values and mores. It was later that their assaults were shown to have other objectives.

The adherence of those named above to the new and innovative ideas of socialism was not undermined by base or degrading interests as some said later, indeed as some say now—people who are violently opposed to what has been done and is being done here, by us. These ideologues cannot believe there can be any value except in hostility and degradation. If you toil here in Romania, if you believed in change and in the renewal of life in and through socialism, if you openly affirmed the convictions you hold, there can be no value in whatever you write. And, if at some time you were recognized as having merit, that recognition is withdrawn immediately if you do not "behave properly," if you do not toe the line emerging from some "ideological labyrinth," if you do not cast mud where before you had honestly placed a flower. But this is dogmatism—pure and simple, a much more than dubious ideological pressure. The intolerance that stood and stands behind it is reactionary, antipatriotic, and antidemocratic; it is incapable of allowing anyone the right to his own convictions. No one can stop me, if I am so moved, to write here in Romania and to believe in what I write, to stand in honesty and sincerity with my country, to be convinced that the true and great questions of Romanian literature and culture are resolved here, not abroad. There were, of course, writers and artists who made major contributions after leaving Romania; there will be others. But for me, I have always believed—regardless of whatever criticism may befall me—that Romanian literature can exist only here in Romania, and that the Romanian writer was and is a patriot by birth, his complete formation and total affirmation impossible to achieve outside of this essential environment.

Taken in this light, the adherence to socialism of the aforementioned and others of the same stature appear to us to be something quite different. They are part of a tradition having nothing whatsoever in common with selling one's soul, betraying "certain ideals" just as the patriotism of today's best writers here in Romania have nothing in common with such shame. This is a socialist Romania, a country in which a great and very interesting literature flourishes, by dint of many people. Certainly they have encountered difficulties of all sorts, objective and subjective—but where in the world is there accomplishment without efforts and difficulties? This literature is not well known abroad, but this does not mean that it does not exist or that it does not have its moments of effervescence. It means only that some—yes, the very ones who rely on schism and slander, on antipatriotism—have boycotted that literature with a ferocity that strips from them their right to be called Romanians. This

despite that they—those gentlemen if you will, those gentlemen with the money, those gentlemen with the microphones—have made and continue to make much about the Romanian spirit. It is almost as though they do not know who pays them or why, as though they cannot see that they are but simple pawns in a long and fierce struggle. This struggle has consumed—through no fault of ours—much of value, much creative effort of those who have stood and continue to stand, as we say, with our country—loving it just as intensely and sincerely in good and bad; seeing it with eyes open to its golden future, knowing with certainty that this future will become, tomorrow, the present.

In fact, patriotism has no need for explanations and motivations, just as love, any love, has no such need. It exists or it does not; it is not at all like the cooing of a bird on a branch—vocalizing patriotic declarations having nothing at all to do with patriotism, even if those declarations are sincere. True patriotism is thought actualized; it is will made firm in a dedication that ignores narrow or banal interests; it is love manifested in all that you have done and do, in the entire way you are. The conviction that you are an integral part of a people who exist nowhere else on earth and that you are the son of a land nowhere repeated on this planet is your source of inspiration. It is the decisive factor in your struggle until full realization of the innermost and most noble aspirations, especially when the people to whom you belong are continuously forced to defend their existence. To stand apart in these circumstances, to situate yourself beyond these vital demands, is simply to serve yourself—it is nothingness, the loss of essence being inevitable, if there had been talent to lose.

Patriotism has taken on a new meaning in today's world—as has antipatriotism. This is because there is not infrequent confusion between patriotism and nationalism, love of country being sometimes mixed in an insistent and provocative way with chauvinism, and

even with racism. It seems that if you love your country and if you sincerely serve the people, you are a lost soul; you are—according to some—a simple neofascist or neolegionaire. But if you do not love your country, if you do not work with all you being for the people, if you mock and denigrate patriotism, you are instantly elevated and thrust into the spotlight. You are overnight endowed with qualities that you never had before, you are changed into an apostle who fights for "the good of mankind" even if you are only human wreckage. This aspect, this difference in treatment shows unequivocally what is truly at the bottom of the accusations noted above, accusations that have been and continue to be circulated by the chauvinists.

Obviously patriotism must be free of any such turmoil. Once again, examples of true patriotism are found in all those creative giants of ours whom we have named, as well in others—so many others—whose patriotism was naturally interwoven with democracy based on humanism. This was the most vibrant expression of the everlasting nature of our humanism. They placed their patriotism—by all that they did—in universality, making eternal a will and a people.

I return to the "seeds of Lucian Blaga," not just as some literary device, but to once again shed light on certain essential conceptions. I would say that it is much better always and without fail to be aligned with the good, aligned with all that is evolving in our country, for you yourself to be a live and fruitful evolution; to praise that drop of sweat that changes into a bead of light, to be ready at any instant for you yourself to change in this light that is the source of power—just as those who preceded us have done, those creative giants. But not only as they have done, but as the Romanian people have done and continue to do, without waiting for praise or encouragement from any quarter.

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POLAND

Developments in Aircraft Industry Cooperation With Soviets, 1986-1987

Helicopter, Civil Aircraft Production
26000694 Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA
in Polish 10 Apr 87 p 3

[Article by Andrzej Adamczewski: "Poland-USSR Bond of Wings"]

[Text] The international contacts of our various branches of industry, in addition to the immediate benefits, such as income, the possibility of utilizing our potential, and the possibility of having the opportunity of coming in contact with the most modern technology and engineering, should be profitable in our introducing more and more modern products of domestic design into our production.

The best example of taking such advantage of cooperation is the close tie between the aviation industry in Poland and the Soviet Union. Close cooperation in this branch of industry began more than 40 years ago, when through joint effort the Polish aeronautical plants were pulled up out of the ruins. The next step was the joint mobilization of production of the Po-2 trainer aircraft. Next the production of this light biplane made it possible to begin production of trainers of domestic construction, the Junak-2 and the Junak-3.

Their producer, the WSK in Swidnik, after many years, specialized in the production of helicopters.

We could cite many such examples of making fruitful use of cooperation. In fact, all Polish aircraft constructed since the war came into being only as the result of the contacts between the aviation industry in the two countries. The last example of this is the youngest offspring of the designers at the WSK in Swidnik, the multipurpose helicopter, which from A to Z is the result of the work of Polish engineers, the PZL Sokol. At present comprehensive trials of this helicopter are in progress. Its capabilities are being tested under extreme climate conditions. The tests are being conducted in the Soviet Union.

There were many reasons for conducting the tests there. All possible climatic conditions can be found in the Soviet Union. The Sokol tests are also being conducted there, because the Soviet Union will be the most important customer for the helicopters.

Concurrent with the Sokol practical tests is the exceptionally difficult research leading to certification. Only after the document has been obtained can the helicopters be exported to the USSR. The helicopter, after all, will operate with people on board. In this connection, it faces stiff requirements, especially those related to safety and reliability.

There is one more aspect to the fact that the tests are being held in the territory of our Eastern neighbors. It is the direct proximity of our friends the Mill Helicopter Construction Plants in Moscow. The designers there were the first teachers of the Swidnik factory's engineers.

The next area of cooperation is coproduction in building passenger aircraft. For 10 years we have been taking part in the production of the extremely modern Il-86 aircraft. Our contribution to the construction of this aircraft amounts to 16 percent of all the components needed to build it. Among others, the WSK factory in Mielec, as part of the coproduction, is building horizontal and vertical stabilizers, that is, the empennage, components which are extremely important to safety of flight.

It is worth emphasizing that Poland is the only country in coproduction of passenger aircraft with the Soviet Union.

At present the aircraft plants in Voronezh, beginning to produce the modern Il-96 airbus, naturally proposed that the Polish plants participate in the production of this aircraft. Talks are also going on concerning coproduction of the Il-114 aircraft. This will be an aircraft which, perhaps, in the future will replace the An-24 on domestic routes. Then it was decided that the Poles would build the landing gear and the propeller, which will be made from laminates and have six blades.

In 1985 production of the An-28 passenger aircraft began at the WSK in Mielec. It is true that it is incomparably smaller than the above-mentioned Il aircraft, because it will take on board only 17 passengers, but its virtues deserve to be mentioned. It has a short takeoff run and landing distance, and it can take off or land on any surface. The An-28 will replace the An-2. At Mielec more than 11,000 of the An-2 have been produced. It is one of the longest series of aircraft produced in the world. Only the American Lockheed plants have produced a larger number of aircraft. This was during the war, and all of the aircraft were produced for the front.

Thus, the WSK in Mielec is the largest producer of a single series of aircraft for peacetime uses.

Co-production Agreement Signed
26000694 Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 21 Apr 87 p 3

[Article: "Evaluating Kiev Contract Partners"]

[Text] The signing in March 1987, of an agreement for direction cooperation between the Mielec WSK and the famous Oleg Antonov Design Office in Kiev is a decision which is being assessed by the Soviet side too as a matter of great importance for further design and research, according to PAP journalist, editor Leslaw Kolijewicz. As everyone knows, the joint efforts will focus on developing a new large-payload agricultural aircraft and new

versions of derivatives of the An-28 passenger aircraft. The special group of specialists undertaking these tasks — and this too is very significant — will work in Mielec.

Here is what the chief designer of the Kiev research facility, Piotr Vasilevich Balabuyev, says on the subject:

"We in the USSR needed aircraft for agriculture, a lot of aircraft. To this end we have entered into cooperation with Poland. The WSK plant in Mielec has undertaken production. The engineers and workers there have done an excellent job of mastering many new technological processes used for the first time in Polish aviation industry. We currently have on tap some questions of further improvement and development of production of the An-28 airplane, which from the current "small-passenger" version should serve still other specialized functions. In the future therefore we will create several dozen modifications for it to be able to serve as an air ambulance, fire-fighting plane, patrol, fisheries observation plane, a plane for geological use, in other words, for all areas of the modern economy. The An-28 is unique throughout the world for small airports. It has a very short landing and takeoff distance. It can even fly off of meadows and land in them. It needs only 500 meters. It is safe in flight at even the lowest altitudes."

Balabuyev says, "I must emphasize that today's 'brain trust' at the Mielec aviation plant is a perfect partner. Together we are an exceptional creative force. Our greatest joint project is to design a completely new agricultural aircraft, which will be an idea translated into reality at the beginning of the 1990's but serving in a massive way in the 21st Century. And it must suit the new century. That means that we should foresee the level of science and technology that will have been reached, and it will be necessary to find design solutions for that right now today. This is not an easy thing, because it calls for new engines and providing for great working efficiency, the thrifty use of fuel, and so on. It must be an economical, safe aircraft. Compared to those produced in the past, it should be at least twice as efficient and just as inexpensive in agricultural work. Such an aircraft is very much needed, because the demand for aerial application is increasing. In the USSR alone the An-2 from Mielec is used on more than 100 million hectares. Experts have calculated that because of chemical application performed by these An-2, yields of 3-5 quintals more per hectare are being obtained.

"So we are facing a difficult but very interesting task, professionally, one which together, knock on wood, we shall surely accomplish successfully.

"The WSK in Mielec is the CEMA's major facility developing agricultural aircraft for all countries of the socialist community and, in my opinion," Balabuyev adds, "it will begin to exceed everyone, even our old

professionals, in experience and familiarity with the whole complicated problems of airborne services for agriculture, forestry, and the like. With such a partner we too will gain a great deal."

Sokol Tests in USSR

26000694 Warsaw SKRZYDLATA POLSKA in Polish
26 Jan 87 p 2

[Article: "Flying Around the Country: Sokol State Test Flights Begin in USSR"]

[Text] Taking off from the WSK-PZL airport in Swidnik on 4 January was a Sokol helicopter going for government test flights to the Soviet Union. The plant is conducting a series of plant test flights on three other such helicopters in this country. The scope of the research begun a year ago includes specification of the effect of boundary operating conditions on the design. Research near Baku and Dushanbe has already been complete. One of the Sokols is presently based in Yakut, where it will be tested under arctic conditions. The flights will be made at temperatures approaching minus 50 Celsius. The previous very successful run of tests shows the design performance, which considerably exceeds the designers' expectations.

IL-86 Co-production

26000694 Warsaw SKRZYDLATA
POLSKA in Polish 16 Feb 86x p 2

[Article: "Flying Around the Country: Polish Co-Production Deliveries for IL-86"]

[Text] Three Polish aircraft plants, the WSK PZL plants at Mielec, Swidnik, and Kalisz, are taking part in the coproduction of the IL-86. From the Mielec plant the jet airbus is provided with engine mounts, units which hold the engine; the vertical stabilizer along with the rudder, the horizontal stabilizer along with the elevator, and slots, right and left (mechanized components on the leading edge of the wing). The Swidnik plant produces ailerons (right and left) and inboard slots (mechanized components on the trailing edge of the wing). A specialist in metal adhesion techniques is preparing for the Mielec plant what are called structures with a special filler, a composite of high durability and low specific gravity, which are used in the production of control surfaces. The Kalisz plant supplies equipment and mechanisms for the horizontal stabilizer and reduction screw gears for the slots and flaps. Polish plants produced 553 units of the above-mentioned parts for subassemblies of the IL-86 this past year.

Mielec Sales to USSR

26000694 Warsaw SKRZYDLATA POLSKA in Polish
16 Mar 86 p 2

[Article: "Days of the 27th CPSU Congress"]

[Excerpt] During the days of the deliberations of the 27th CPSU Congress, the PZL Transport Equipment Plant in Mielec activated its exports to the Soviet Union. During the first day of the congress three of the most popular multipurpose agricultural version An-2 aircraft flew from Mielec to Lvov. The second day of the congress, another six An-2 aircraft flew the same course. On the third day, three more went. The export of Mielec aircraft to the USSR has increased to 34 during the first 2 months of this year.

Soviet Aircraft Engineers Visit

26000694 Warsaw SKRZYDLATA POLSKA in Polish
29 Mar 87 p 2

[Article: "In Brief"]

[Text] A group of Soviet aviation specialists, headed by P. Balabuyev, general designer of the O. Antonov Experimental Design Office, visited Poland on 17-23 March. The Soviet specialists visited the WSK PZL plant in Mielec.

Co-production Protocol Signed

26000694 Warsaw SKRZYDLATA POLSKA in Polish
4 May 86 p 2

[Article: "Development of Polish-Soviet Co-Production in Aeronautical Industry"]

[Text] More documents were signed in Warsaw this past 19 April to expand the scope of Polish-Soviet economic cooperation. One of the documents is a protocol for previous intergovernmental agreements concerning co-production of the Il-86 aircraft and technical cooperation between the two countries in the area of development and production of aircraft in Poland.

The current protocol specifies the conditions of the mutual deliveries. Polish aviation industry will continue to produce assemblies, units, and parts for the modern wide-body Il-86 airbus produced in Voronezh. The assemblies produced in Poland utilizing Soviet documentation, engineering, and materials include the empennage, engine mounts, slots, flaps, and screw gear. In exchange, the Soviets will supply Poland with passenger aircraft, which our air carrier greatly needs at present, along with raw materials and other materials for aircraft production. In keeping with the protocol, Polish aeronautical co-production deliveries will increase by 60 percent during the present five-year period.

Cooperation Benefits Publicized

26000694 Warsaw SKRZYDLATA POLSKA in Polish
9 Nov 86 p 2

[Article: "Journalists in Swidnik and Mielec"]

[Text] The Democratic Party's Friendship ("Przyjazn") Journalists Club and Aviation Journalists Club held a joint session on 23-24 October entitled "The Benefits of the Polish Aviation Industry's Cooperation With the Soviet Industry." There were 20 Polish journalists and five Soviet journalists accredited in Poland.

Before the session, the journalists met with Mgr Jerzy Krezlewicz, director of the PEZETEL Foreign Trade Enterprise, who talked about general cooperation issues.

At the WSK PZL plant in Swidnik, the journalists were presented with the issues of the development of helicopter production in Poland based on scientific, technical, and production cooperation, coproduction, and exchange of organizational information with Soviet plants. The journalists visited the production halls and viewed a flight demonstration of the new Polish PZL-Sokol helicopter.

At the WSK PZL plant in Mielec, on the other hand, they learned of the plant's cooperation traditions with Soviet aviation industry, including matters concerning direct cooperation between Mielec and Voronezh, as well as the long-range prospects for development in both countries, on the basis of mutually beneficial cooperation. After a visit to the production halls, there was a demonstration flight of a new passenger aircraft of Soviet design and Polish production, the An-28.

Extension of Il-86 Contract

26000694 Warsaw SKRZYDLATA POLSKA in Polish
30 Nov 86 p 2

[Article: "Co-Production With Voronezh"]

[Text] On 19 April a document and international agreement were signed in Warsaw concerning an extension of the coproduction of the Il-86 aircraft from 1986 to 1990. Within the framework of these documents, on 14 November a contract was signed in Warsaw for 1987 between the PEZETEL Foreign Trade Enterprise of the Aviation and Engine Industry and the Aviaexport foreign trade center to deliver to the USSR 10 complete assemblies for the Soviet airbus being built in Voronezh. As before, the WSK PZL plants in Mielec, Swidnik, and Kalisz will take part in producing the empennage, engine mounts, and wing control surfaces.

The value of the contract that was signed is about 40 million rubles. The contract also provides for the USSR to supply materials and partly finished products to be used in the production of the airbus assemblies in Poland.

Joint Industry Task Force

26000694 Warsaw SKRZYDLATA POLSKA in Polish
15 Feb 87 p 2

[Article: "Polish-Soviet Co-Production in Aeronautical Industry"]

[Text] A Polish-Soviet Aviation Industry Working Group met in Warsaw on 25-30 January. Discussions were held in seven subgroups. This was the ninth successive meeting of the group. On 30 January, Gen Dyw Prof Dr Hab Engineer Jerzy Modrzewski, undersecretary of state at the Ministry of Metallurgy and Engineering Industry, and Anufrii V. Bolbot, deputy minister of aviation industry of the USSR, signed the final minutes of the session. This document describes the annual working plan for 1987 concerning cooperation between the Polish and Soviet aviation industry. For example, it includes An-28 airplanes, PZL Sokol helicopters, aircraft engines, jointly produced assemblies for the Il-86 and Il-96 airbuses, and questions of new technologies and the application of new materials. The direct cooperation begun between individual Polish and Soviet factories and design offices was a new feature in this area.

Joint Design Team Contract

26000694 Warsaw SKRZYDLATA POLSKA in Polish
5 Apr 87 p 2

[Article: "Cooperation Between Aeronautical Industry in Poland and USSR"]

[Text] While it was in Poland, a Soviet economic delegation with Yuri Masliukov was host on 19 March at the PZL Transport Vehicle Factory in Mielec. Masliukov and Minister of Metallurgy and Engineering Industry Janusz Maciejewicz were witnesses to the signing of an agreement for the Mielec factory and the Oleg Antonov Design Office in Kiev to set up a joint Polish-Soviet design group to conduct design and research projects to develop a new large-payload agricultural aircraft and new developmental versions of the An-26 passenger aircraft. This agreement is an expression of the new efforts at integration.

Details on Design Team Agenda

26000694 Warsaw SKRZYDLATA POLSKA in Polish
19 Apr 87 p 2

[Article: "Aeronautical Industry's First Quarter of 1987"]

[Text] During the first quarter of 1987, among the production accomplishments of the plants of the PZL Aircraft and Engine Producers' Association were three more newly mobilized An-28 passenger aircraft, 83 An-2 multipurpose aircraft, and 59 Mi-2 multipurpose helicopters, as well as 233 GTD-350 turbine engines (for helicopters) and 205 ASz-62IR piston engine (used in the An-2 airplane, for example).

Antonov Scapes Exhibit

26000694 Warsaw SKRZYDLATA POLSKA in Polish
10 May 87 p 2

[Article: "Flying Around the Country: Soviet Exhibit in Poland"]

[Text] An exhibit entitled "Kiev, Scientific-Industrial Capital of the Soviet Ukraine" was held at the House of Polish-Soviet Friendship in Warsaw between 23 April and 6 May. Among the city's many achievements, there was a display related to the activity of the Oleg Antonov Design Office, which has its headquarters in Kiev. Alongside the color photographs and plans, there were aircraft models of the multipurpose An-2, the Anteusz An-22 turbopropeller, the An-24 passenger aircraft, the An-26 transport aircraft, and An-72 jet, and the largest jet transport aircraft, the Russian An-124. Engineer Vladimir Pupyshev served as guide for the aviation section of the exhibition, telling us that in the Soviet Union, out of all the aircraft operated by Aeroflot, aircraft with the An designation carry more than one-quarter of the passengers and about one-half of the freight and mail. In addition, they perform about 95 percent of all the jobs for agriculture and forestry. Antonov Design Office aircraft designs are exported to 42 countries. The exhibit will be on display in Krakow in May.

Antonov's Pupyshev Goes on Lecture Tour

26000694 Warsaw SKRZYDLATA POLSKA in Polish
17 May 87 p 2

[Article: "Oleg Antonov's Designs"]

[Text] A paper entitled "The Antonov Design Office Working on Behalf of the National Economy" was presented by Engineer Vladimir Pupyshev, affiliated with the Oleg Antonov Design Office in Kiev, this past 30 April at the Mechanical Power and Aviation Department of Warsaw Technical University (PW). Development of designs of the An-2/3, An-8/10/12, An-14/26, An-24/26/30/32, An-22, An-72/74, and An-124 was discussed along with that of the most modern hang gliders and motorized hang gliders. Color slides were used to illustrate the talk. At the end answers were given to questions posed by PW academic employees. The talk was also given on 28 April at PLL LOT and 29 April at the Aviation Institute, as well as on 6 May at the WSI in Radom and 12 May at the Krakow Technical University.

CEMA Aerospace Industry Conference

26000694 Warsaw SKRZYDLATA POLSKA in Polish
24 May 87 p 2

[Article: "Meeting of CEMA Countries' Aeronautical Experts"]

[Text] Aeronautical experts met in Jachranka near Warsaw on 6-11 April to discuss the technical operation of aircraft and equipment from Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Cuba, the GDR, Poland, Hungary, Vietnam, and the

Soviet Union. The meeting was also attended by representatives of the Polish and Soviet aviation industry. Specialists from agricultural aviation enterprises shared their experiences related to improving the technology of operating agricultural aircraft and equipment, repairs, technology of agricultural aviation operations, and the use of new chemical and biological substances in aerial application operations. The experience of other countries in the realm of managing aerial application and insuring flight safety received a great deal of attention. The presence of representatives of the major producers of airplanes, helicopters, aerial application equipment, and engines from Poland the USSR provided an opportunity for them to learn of users' experience and to present information on new products being prepared. The countries of the socialist communities are presently entering a new stage of cooperation and socialist integration, as exemplified by the direct contacts which plants of the aviation industry in Poland and the Soviet Union are making with each other and the cooperation between the Aerial Application Services Plant of WSK PZL in Warsaw Okęcie and Agrarflug in the GDR.

10790

YUGOSLAVIA

Training of Antiterrorist Police Units Sketched
28000257a Zagreb START in Serbo-Croatian
27 Jun 87 pp 48, 57-58

[Article by Aleksandar Vojinovic: "Specials on a Special Mission"]

[Text] Four Land Rovers with blue revolving lights on the roof sped through the night.... The city had mostly gone to bed already, only here and there could one see through a window the flashing bursts of blue light from a television set that was still turned on. The traffic was dying out on the streets, the streetcars were less frequent, it was not long to midnight.

The blue Land Rovers with the additional equipment they always have under stretched tarpaulins on the roof and the large sign POLICE on both sides turned toward the southern road out of the city. In doing so they always maintained the same interval between the vehicles, and those of us who were "embarked temporarily"—as civilian guests and passengers traveling on warships are usually referred to in our navy—are struck that in the broad rear-view mirrors on both sides of the cab the headlights of the next automobile are always at the center of the mirror as though pasted there.... We said: A real combat column on the offensive. Incidentally, even the commander of the special unit to which these strong and tough Land Rovers belong often is apt to say to the members of his team "my fighters." And finally, this rush tonight from one end of the city to the other resulted from a particular combat mission.

At the moment of departure in the base drowned in twilight, in front of the vehicles that were already in line, the announcement was made:

"Our mission is to resolve a situation in a passenger plane that landed at the airport half an hour ago."

We looked at the team—in their unit this kind of select group made up for a particular emergency action is referred to that way—while the leader of the group who will carry out the "airplane operation" presents all the military details, which are supposed to culminate in "freeing the hostages." They are wearing special camouflage coveralls, helmets with visors and leather chin straps, bulletproof vests, and high-top sneakers of the kind boxers wear (an incidental observation: when the team moves, its steps are inaudible). As for armament—pistols and revolvers, automatic rifles and automatic sniper rifles with devices for nighttime observation and sighting (as far as the unit's armament is concerned, our cordial hosts were responsive in telling us that the entire unit is equipped with "the most up-to-date appropriate domestic and foreign weapons"). Something else: there were silencers on many muzzles of the handguns referred to. All in all it made an imperative, determined, and to some extent frightening impression. That impression became stronger during the drive under the passing squirts of the scant streetlights. Who knows how many times they had responded to the alarm to go out on a special mission like this (their exceptional duty of going on special missions has given them the nickname "the specials," and actually the full title of the unit is Unit for Special Missions of the Republic Secretariat for Internal Affairs of SR Croatia).

In sight of the airport a brief agreement over the radio. Everything in code, everything in words barely understandable to a few of us.

The first Land Rover headed for the back entrance without slowing down. The second, third, and fourth followed it at the same intervals as before, rushing through the city streets.

In a moment all four blue cross-country vehicles and their teams stopped next to one another on the very edge of the apron. A bit further away, to the north, we could see in the half-darkness the single DC-9 passenger plane that was the target of this nighttime race by the "specials."

We tried to guess what is being prepared and in what order, but that is a nonsensical waste of time. They operate in the manner that is natural to them: silently, with just a mere whisper, here every movement of the hand has a special significance or may even announce some foreseen phase of "operation airplane." At the same moment we now note that the helmets of some of

the "specials" have built-in walkie-talkies whose tiny and very sensitive microphones protrude right in front of the mouth and facilitate ongoing agreement with the commander of the team.

A hand pulled us deeper into the darkness.

"Where are the 'hijackers,' the terrorists?" we asked.

"In the aircraft."

"How long have they been there?"

"Well, they came with us in the convoy," the team leader said and laughed in the darkness, and a ray of light from the rather distant terminal building revealed a flash of youthful cheerfulness in his eyes and even of some kind of unique mischievousness. Yet those eyes also had something else to say: Now you will see how we go about it.

The boys in the high-top sneakers stole up to the aircraft like phantoms. They seemed to float over the smooth surface of the apron, each of them turned into a dark shadow difficult to pick out, and one would swear that a shadow was a "special," but it was truly impossible to be certain (and when you stare at a particular point, it turns out that you were wrong, that it actually was a lifeless shadow).

By this time the "specials" had already surrounded the aircraft. All at once they were everywhere around, they had taken up the necessary positions, and they were waiting. Along with a number of virtues that we will be talking about later on, there is one splendid virtue that is essential to what they are: These boys have nerves of steel! And in this case patience is just as important as the determination to deal with the principal perpetrators of the crime inside the aircraft, who are every moment looking restlessly through the round windows.

We silently point with our finger toward the windows of the aircraft where the four "terrorists" are lying in wait, obviously cautious and ready for any surprise (one of the "terrorists" was to tell us in jest after "operation airplane" was over: "I have played the terrorist so many times, I am really getting into the role!"). Instead of any commentary, an interesting remark was whispered in the ear:

"If we are noticed, the operation is broken off and we put it off for another time."

"Is there a possibility that you will be discovered?"

"Of course, there is.... You must bear in mind that we have to deal with highly experienced 'terrorists,' who will be ready for any kind of resistance if they find that they have been tricked, and in a real life situation they would mercilessly spray the innocent passengers with bullets if they realized that they were in a tight spot."

"How would the 'terrorists' in the aircraft be able to discover you?"

"In various ways."

"Could they see you?"

"They might."

"Hear you?"

"It's possible.... Try to imagine yourself in that hijack situation as we refer to it in our terminology: Outside it is night, silent, we are on the edge of the runway, even the airport service vehicles are not running out there now, and in the aircraft the four of them are tensely and with their ears pricked up trying to analyze every suspicious noise that might alert them that the denouement or showdown, if you prefer, is about to come."

This was just before the "specials" broke into the DC-9, which was scheduled to continue its air cruise the next morning to who knows what destination within the country or outside the borders of Yugoslavia. By that time everything inside the aircraft will again be in its place, and there will be nothing from which one might suspect that this elegantly accoutred aircraft had in the middle of the night been the battlefield of a "lierce conflict" between the custodians of the law and hijackers who had "seized" the aircraft along with its passengers.

The invisible threads of the "operation" lead back to the chief of the team, who is the principal designer of this superbly drilled "exercise," whose sole purpose tonight is to refresh the combat readiness of the select "team" of the Unit for Special Missions of the Republic Secretariat for Internal Affairs of SR Croatia (that is, there are similar units of "specials" throughout Yugoslavia).

The break-in is instantaneous.

Lightning fast.

Had there been any opening on the roof of the aircraft, the "specials" would have rushed the "terrorists" from there as well. Let us forget: At the moment of breaking into the aircraft, the attack and the thunderous cry of the "specials" coincide completely. That cry in unison all of a sudden from every side while everything was being broken down and the "terrorists" already have numerous high-caliber revolvers pointed at them, reminded us once again that we were witnessing a special tactical exercise that requires the greatest effort on the part of the participants, since in a real life situation the ultimate goal was to free the innocent passengers, and both the lives of the passengers and the lives of the "specials" were at risk (in our case the role of the "terrorists" was played by four veteran "specials").

Half an hour later we were no longer outside observers, but had been placed among the "passengers," and we were face to face with the "terrorists" (green commando suits, baseball caps, and black knitted wool caps like those worn for skiing that can be pulled down over the face, automatic weapons with silencers, and one-way sunglasses). Although they sat us down in seats where we could (they told us) "follow the development of events quite well—this probably would be the case if you had the eyes of a nocturnal bird and you infallibly recorded everything taking place within your entire field of vision—the "specials" nevertheless gave us a start when they broke into the DC-9 (the "terrorists" had in advance placed foam rubber mats at places where there might be minor damage).

Once again that shout from everywhere at once, and we were "freed."

We went off in single file down the runway to the Land Rovers. The airport had gone on with its usual nighttime life, the yellow cars with flashing signal lights were awaiting tardy airplanes with passengers and leading them to empty spaces near the DC-9 we had just descended from.

Everything that we have described to you took place without arousing notice, with no noise whatsoever, and there was nothing to catch the attention of the late night travelers whose silhouettes were outlined through the airplane windows. The "specials" came and went like phantoms of the night (as an airplane alongside was being docked, they lay motionless on the wings and around our DC-9 so as not to attract anyone's attention). They vanished in the night, in their camouflaged uniforms, in a good mood like any other young men between 19 and 23 who were returning with satisfaction to their base after an action in which they had proved and demonstrated once again that they were experts at their work.

On one occasion peasants from the vicinity of Zagreb who had seen these agile young men in their typical camouflaged uniforms during one of their regular exercises took them for a military unit and shouted out to them:

"Tell us, boys, how many days do you have left to the end of your military service?"

"Another 30 years," answered one of the last in the column and gaily waved his hand.

The special mission unit of the Croatian Secretariat for Internal Affairs in Zagreb has been in existence for 23 years now—we are talking, that is, about a tradition going back nearly a quarter of a century—and its basic purpose is to combat terrorists and saboteurs who have infiltrated and other criminal groups in the city and away from settlements (for example, the "hostage situations" would fall in this category). The combat training of the

"specials" can be clarified in the most general way by this interpretation: "Along with a combination of theoretical examinations of certain problems related to special warfare and hostile activity toward the SFRY, the members of the Unit for Special Missions also perform drills of certain operations and procedures in order to frustrate adversaries as effectively as possible." For example, the "specials" from Zagreb began to train to counteract air piracy when it became a world topic of the day.

Has the unit of Zagreb "specials" ever intervened in an airplane hijacking?

No, it has not.

What we presented in the introduction of our article is entirely part of regular training, that is, a regular tactical exercise on which we are presenting an exclusive report.

It is true that the age of the "specials" is between 19 and 23 (except, of course, for the commander and his assistants). Each of the "specials" is a volunteer, and he has completed the Secondary School for Internal Affairs before joining this unit.

How does one become a "special"?

The training is not drawn out, but takes place "according to a special syllabus and curriculum for performance of the most complicated missions of law enforcement agencies under all weather conditions and in urban environments as well as on other terrains."

This accelerated training lasts 6 months, and after that the members of the unit are constantly receiving advanced training and drilling in various specialties, such as sharpshooters, divers, speleologists, mountain climbers, mountain rescue service, the operation of special vehicles, actions involving the use of helicopters, and so on.

The extreme exertions of the "specials" also require exceptional conditioning, and that exceptional conditioning is the fruit of a truly great effort and quite a bit of sweat. After all, the "specials" run 8-10 km every day (about as much as our soccer stars when they are preparing for some important game), and they run wherever they happen to be—in the woods, in the field. The important thing is to maintain the daily quota. Then every day (after the introductory warm-up exercises) they have exercises in strength and the martial arts—jujitsu and taekwon do—lasting 1 to 2 hours. But that is not all by any means. Every week the "specials" hike 40 km carrying their complete equipment, which weighs some 20 kg. More than that, once a week they do what is called an azimuth hike (that is, they hike in the wilderness and find a particular point by means of a map and compass), and this involves a hike of at least some 20

km. This typical exercise in soldiering is of particular benefit to the "specials," since they perform most of their missions in the open terrain and in the wilderness.

To all of this we must add the nighttime drills: night observation and sighting (use of listening devices and target detection at night) and night driving. Particular attention is paid to training under nighttime conditions: to check out the equipment and to accustom the members of the unit to actions on differing terrains under nighttime conditions.

The specialties of the "specials" are many, and they are a story in themselves. Whichever one we take, every specialty is amazing in its way.

For example, they are mountain climbers to a man and able to use mountain-climbing techniques in conquering any steep cliff or, if you like—they are able to drop down the facade of any building or structure. To keep in shape ("keeping in shape" is something that the "specials" talk about all the time, their existence is unthinkable without it!), they climb into the hills around Kamenski, they climb the mountains in Goraki Kotar, they climb Velebit and the steepest cliffs on Medvednica near Zagreb (in driving to the latter location with our photographer the Land Rover carrying the "specials" sped over part of its route in a streambed!). The mountain-climbing specialty is associated with speleological activity and training for the mountain rescue service ("specials" of the Republic Secretariat for Internal Affairs of SR Croatia have on several occasions in the wintertime taken part in searches for lost children who were lost on Medvednica, which was covered with snow).

Every "special" is, as a matter of course, an excellent rifleman. However, some are better than excellent. These are the sharpshooters, who have distinguished themselves after various selective target-shooting exercises of the entire unit. They are responsible for special sharpshooting day and night and particular fire missions involving moving targets. The use of nighttime equipment is a very important part of training sharpshooting. It should be mentioned that every month the entire unit has several mandatory target practices to a man, and this is done in several ways. With air guns—"which is indispensable for correcting errors in aiming and pulling the trigger." With small-caliber guns—on what is called a "film" target range. And only after that comes selective shooting—stationary, momentary, and moving targets, shooting under nighttime conditions, and finally shooting from vehicles and helicopters.

All the "specials" have completed a course in combat skiing under diverse wintertime conditions (this specialty is also related to the mountain rescue service).

Speleological experience is gained by joint expeditions to caves and underground with speleologists of the Society for Exploration and Recording of Karst Phenomena of Zagreb (every year a different group of "specials" is included).

Along with time spent in nature for exercises and to keep in shape, we must also mention camping (this is similar to the well-known drills that come under the joint name of "survival training"). Every year a group of members of the unit goes out for a 2-week camping trip under difficult weather conditions (involving life in a tent, particular emphasis on nighttime exercises, camping at a different location every year).

Although all future "specials" already have their B driver's license when they come to the unit, they have gone through additional training in the unit (called finishing) in the driving of special vehicles. These are first of all an armored (original reads "total") personnel carrier manufactured in Yugoslavia which is (they say) "among the most up-to-date vehicles of this kind in the world" (a speed of 100 km/hr over all terrains, capable of traveling through deep water, a protective barrier which the personnel carrier pushes in front of it during its advance, its capability of traveling with a punctured tire, and so on—its purpose is to be used primarily against barricaded terrorist groups, since "by virtue of its impressiveness and protection it makes it possible for the team to successfully complete its mission"). Aside from driving the armored personnel carrier, which has installed in it an entire "philharmonia" of various piercing police sirens (everything you might have heard in various TV series and films), every "special" must have a perfect mastery of driving the unit's main means of transportation—the Land Rover.

However much we have striven to be as concise as possible, there still remains quite a bit more to be said about the Zagreb "specials." They are exemplary athletes (and especially proud of it), and they engage in a number of different sports that they rank according to their own interests (we give them in their order): 1—martial arts (they have one member on the national judo team and one on the national taekwon do team—all the "specials" are blue-belt instructors and 80 percent of them are candidates for the master's black belt); 2—target shooting (at one time or another members of the unit have been national champions in shooting small-caliber pistols, and they clearly achieve the best scores in internal competitions); [3]—gymnastics; 4—soccer (members of the unit comprise the "skeleton" of the "Young Policeman's" soccer team); 5—basketball (when they drop on a line down the face of a building from the roof to the ground they have a habit of giving high fives like basketball players during a substitution); 6—ping-pong; 7—bowling; 8—swimming. Last year they reached the fifth round in amateur soccer, they took the championship of Maksimir Opština and placed in the city competition, and in internal games celebrating law enforcement day ("13 May") they took first place in the pentathlon.

The unit is in communication with the corresponding services of the Croatian Republic Secretariat for Internal Affairs 24 hours a day. It sometimes happens that two missions come so close that they go from one to the

other, but this does not keep the members from carrying them out successfully. Among the number of actions that the Zagreb "specials" have so far taken part in, two will always be remembered: the first was on Radusa in 1972 (when part of a terrorist group infiltrated SR Croatia) and the second on Velebit in 1974 (when one member of the unit was killed and one was seriously wounded in eliminating two terrorists who had turned up in the area of Velebit).

And how about private life?

Ninety percent of them are unmarried and live in the dormitory; there are very few smokers among them (the "specials" prefer to drink milk, Coca-Cola, and juices), they are all members of the LC, they are wonderful comrades (the commander and his aide emphasize the "high degree of comradeship"), and they have very stable psychophysical personalities.

We have left to the end the "specials" whose specialty is diving, since we have mostly recorded what they have done under the most widely differing and impossible conditions. Every diver completes training in various training centers for underwater activities.

They are called upon very often to bring up drowned persons.

Three years ago in the Croatian Zagorje they brought up from a well 30 meters deep the body of a girl who had committed suicide four months and 12 days earlier (the local people noticed blood in the water from the well and notified the police). Twice a diver was lowered to the bottom of the well tethered by a cable running through a pulley (the first time the valve on his cylinder opened in that tight space, but he was very resourceful and immediately signaled to be taken up rapidly: he appeared at the bottom of the rope with his arms and legs spread out, bracing himself on the stone walls).

Two years later, in 1985, four days after Republic Day, they were barely able to take their Land Rovers through Lika, which was buried in snow, to reach the Zrmanja River, where they made lengthwise and transverse dives searching for a person whom the storm wind had blown off a bridge. Actually, the man was quickly found (before that dives were made from the left and right banks of the Zrmanja over a length of 1 km) among boulders underneath a waterfall. At that point he was. In spite of the icy water and although the diving was done without scuba apparatus, since there was a danger that the cylinders would get caught, a "special" diver tethered by a line reached the corpse and carried out his mission.

That same year an Italian tourist who was afraid his son would drown and tried to save him was recovered from Okrugljak Lake in the Plitvice. The son survived, he was rescued by other tourists, but that did not help his father.

That same year the "specials" had to go to the Plitvice Lakes on yet another emergency, once again because a foreign tourist had had an accident. This one was a passionate amateur photographer and wanted to take a picture of the panorama holding on to a branch over the water with one hand. The branch broke.

One winter the divers of the Unit for Special Missions were called twice on the same day to make dives at Krapina near the Zagorje Highway to pull to the surface nine passengers from submerged automobiles (the second call followed immediately upon return from the first mission). These were typical cases in which dives were made by the buddy system (for the diver's "baptism by fire," that is, the first corpse in the water, one experienced diver and one new man go together as a team).

Early this year for the first time: diving to recover a discarded weapon that burglars had thrown in a lake (Novo Cice in Velika Gorica). After one year and seven months they had to find three hunting rifles (one "boke-rica" with no butt, a hunting carbine, and one entire "boke-rica"). One of the divers described this mission like this:

"Up to that point we had mainly recovered corpses, and this was the first time that we were recovering weapons. We had hopes that we might find the guns and recover them if the indications as to the places where we might find the guns were fairly correct. One of our difficulties was that the rifles had been in the water for a long time already, and they were covered with gravel and silt.... The depth near the shore was between 8 and 10 meters. We began to drop down rapidly; at the middle of the lake we dropped down to a depth between 20 and 40 meters. At that depth it was very cold, and we had to go back up to the surface. We agreed with our comrades on the shore that we would dive as long as we could stand it.... In a regular system we once again left the shore and went to the middle of the lake and at one point we noticed something sticking out of the mud.... It could have been a branch, but when we went closer to the object, we saw that it was the barrel of a rifle.... Three minutes later we dug out the carbine with hunter's telescopic sight and five minutes later the hunting rifle and its case. We found all the weapons within a radius of 10 meters."

When the temperature of the water near the bottom was below freezing, the divers refused to come up and give up the search (failure to carry out a mission is practically the same as a defeat for the "specials"), and although the diving suit allowed them to spend only 20 minutes in the icy water, they remained in the lake more than an hour and successfully completed the action.

There is one truly original and unique anecdote related to the diving exploits of the Unit for Special Missions, one that has to do with one of these actions of recovering the bodies of passengers from sunken automobiles.

So once two divers jumped into the river with their equipment, and they stayed down longer than was expected. Bubbles were coming up to the surface from their cylinders, but where had they gone to take so long? When they finally appeared (they found two of the passengers outside the automobiles), they were asked by the other members of the "team" why they had stayed down so long? The two of them briefly explained:

"Since we had never had a chance to sit in an Asconi, we tried it to see what it was like!"

And by way of conclusion an anecdote from one of the so-called two-sided exercises in which one group of "specials" plays the "terrorists and saboteurs," while the other the custodians of the law. The victory goes to those who are more skillful, resourceful, and inventive, but since abilities are fairly even, there are times when this is

a lengthy and exhausting game of hide-and-seek. In one such situation the message came over the walkie-talkie: "Is there any point in our looking for you when you aren't anywhere?"

"Anywhere...anywhere..." was the triumphant echo in the little earphone. "We are not anywhere...we are not anywhere!"

The "specials" will always surprise someone, it is in their blood. "Those are the secrets of the trade," their commander smiles.

And we would add:

Vibrant youth and the secrets of the trade at the service of the law!

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YUGOSLAVIA

Implications of Continuing Inflationary Surge Explored

28000258a Belgrade ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA
in Serbo-Croatian 14 Jul 87 pp 6-7

[Article by Ogajen Janevski: "Is It Possible To Go Back?"]

[Text] According to a report by the Federal Bureau of Statistics, Yugoslav inflation has crossed the boundary of 100 percent for the first time. We have thereby won ourselves a place in the company of the Latin American countries in which life with that kind of inflation has already become a part of folklore.

We crossed that threshold rather quietly, with no great excitement, when the monthly rise of retail prices was about 7 percent. An annual inflation of 7 percent is already a first sign of a sick economy in the Western countries, but we were not bothered even by that much in a month.

We talked to Dr Zarko Ristic of the School of Economics of Belgrade University about the influence of that kind of inflation on the economy, about its consequences, about the possibilities of finding a way out of that crisis.

"This is the first time that figures have been published showing that we have entered the phase of three-digit inflation, though actually it has been three-digit inflation for quite a long time now," Dr Ristic says. "In practical terms it is now somewhere around 130 percent if it is measured by OECD methodology. Although inflation has been indicated lower than it is, even that is an astounding figure, since as soon as it passes 100 percent, it begins to feed upon itself. We do not have mechanisms to reduce it. It is possible to drop back from 25 percent to 10, but there is no possibility whatsoever to drop back from 100 percent to 90, not to mention 50 percent. Three-digit inflation regenerates itself, according to the postulates of economic theory, that percentage will climb to 230 percent next year and in two years it will show a rise of 490 percent."

A Remedy for Three Diseases

As Professor Ristic put it, inflation is Public Enemy No 1, and as far as that goes, the government has failed its examination with respect to its promises. Things that have never been known in other economies are cropping up in ours in quite a hodgepodge. The largest component in that mixture is political inflation, then there is republic-provincial inflation, then systemic inflation, and cost inflation, structural inflation, sectoral inflation, and imported inflation. The true remedy cannot be found for that kind of mixture, just as it is difficult to treat a man who is suffering from three serious diseases at the same time.

Dr Ristic says that assurances that our inflation occurred because of spending are nothing more than a deception. The economy of the United States has proved with Reaganomics that consumption is actually a driving force for production. But in our country it is only the mint printing money that operates on three shifts, which is far more than is the case in the economy. Thatcherism also showed that it is a mistake to constantly fight demand inflation. There have to be mechanisms that will stimulate the supply. In our country it is not that demand is expanding, but rather that supply is staying the same. And in those relations everything is covered with prices.

Debts are a strong generator of inflation, and there is no chance whatsoever of our repaying them with this kind of economic growth of 1 percent. In that alone we are denying ourselves the possibility of creating the vision of some higher standard of living and of building the future. Our economic growth must not fall below 4.5 to 5.5 percent. If we became steady there, we should raise it to 6 to 7 percent and then plan the future. Otherwise the debt will double—instead of the present \$20, we will be paying back \$40, instead of \$40, \$80 billion. This is a boomerang that at one and the same time increases unemployment and reduces housing construction, and that will be felt only over the next five years. With a growth of 1 percent there is no chance of expanding plants, of employing young specialists. Housing construction is stymied, and it has been a driving force behind economic growth. And all of this will figure as a new generator of inflation.

Inflation and Policy

There is even the question of the extent to which the figure of the Federal Bureau for Statistics is accurate. The figures over the last 10 years have never been precise enough, since inflation has been manipulated. The very methodology in computing it is a state secret, which is absurd. But when the truth is concealed in this way, the "market basket" can be formed in a way that artificially shows inflation to be lower than it is. One omits from it those products whose prices have risen enormously, and then there is always manipulation in that last annual wave of price rises in December. Some of those rises are masterfully carried over into January, so that inflation in the past year is reduced. This is referred to as carried-over inflation, which does not exist anywhere in the world and which is reduced by political moves. On the basis of this improperly indicated inflation there is also an inappropriate economic policy operating, and the wrong measures are offered to cure the economy.

"The Federal Executive Council has 10 proposals for changing the economic system," Dr Zarko Ristic mentions, "but actually there is no inflation in those propositions. Everything is set up as though the rate of inflation in our country was zero. The Federal Executive Council has for all practical purposes capitulated in the face of inflation and is now seeking changes of certain

peripheral points such as joint ventures and small business. Although all of that is somehow far from inflation, it also appears as an enemy to the foreigners who want to invest capital in our country. Not to mention the fact that we already have a system which by definition is an enemy to foreign capital. It is difficult today to answer the question of why in past years we have omitted to have a showdown with inflation. It has proved to be a great enemy throughout the entire period of Yugoslavia. Back in 1978 people knew that urgent changes had to be made. Then the second oil shock in 1979 provided the impetus for drawing up the anti-inflation program. We were tardy, and in 1982 we worked for a long time on the anti-inflation program, and then were a long time adopting it, so then we adopted it and we postponed its application. Political inflation created such a sediment that there is now a real question of whether any package of measures could help. For all practical purposes the political factor detours around inflation, and that is why we do not have a chance of stabilizing by the year 2000, and there is a great question as to when we will be able to develop.

Exports at Any Price

With respect to inflation we hold the absolute record in Europe. If you add up the rate of inflation of all the Western countries and multiply it by three, the result is our rate of inflation. With catastrophic figures like that we are now being compared to countries to which we were never compared before, even in theory. With Bolivia, for example. We can no longer be compared even to Argentina and Brazil, where there are new campaigns to hold back prices. With price rises like that, we truly have nothing to look for on the world market. We draw back all the export prices, the prices are higher and higher on the domestic market, and we are subsidizing 40 percent of the value of every commodity. This is a total sell-off of state property created by the illusion that we should export at any price. It is paradoxical that the inflow of foreign exchange is dropping off although we are exporting more and more.

"It suits the present politicians to have the burden of the foreign debt put off to the future until after their term of office expires," Dr Ristic explains. "Our children will have to pay off those debts. Some effective turnabout has to be made concerning this."

"Do you see any such turnaround?"

"I think the only effective thing would be for a fourth of that package of \$20 billion in debt, if it is not even more, to be repaid along with the interest from the inflow of foreign exchange. The other fourth, along with interest, we would turn into joint ventures; we would pay back the third fourth in dinars, and the fourth quarter we would reschedule over the next 10 to 15 years at an acceptable rate of interest. We dare not allow exports at any price to completely exhaust the economy, which domestic consumers would then have to pay for. If we turn a quarter

of the debt into joint ventures, the foreign trading partner would be motivated to invest his money in a real business transaction. By repaying a portion of the debt in dinars we would ease the pressure on the very scanty reserves of foreign exchange, we would be diminishing what is referred to as the hunger for foreign exchange, and foreigners would be able to buy finished products, raw materials, and producer goods for dinars and to invest in tourism. This would make it possible to raise economic growth to a higher level, and we would equip ourselves for world competition, which is extremely strong. We will be able to improve our rating on the foreign capital market and to remain on it if we want to build factories for the 21st century. After all, we cannot do that with domestic accumulation under present conditions. The penetration of our products on the world market would also improve the motivation to work for personal incomes that would be twofold or threefold higher. At our present earnings we remain competent only for loan transactions. And that means that all we are exporting is our labor, that Yugoslavia has resigned itself to exploitation. This is not an economy, this is stagnating reproduction.

A Breathing Space and Real Moves

According to Professor Ristic, it is an irreparable loss for about 1 million hectares of fertile land to be left untilled. We need to be more flexible in this respect, perhaps to lease out that land to the Danes or Japanese, so that they can show us how to use it, how to have two or three harvests a year. As far as that kind of opening up goes, why should we not allow a consortium of Swiss banks to get a place in Yugoslavia? That consortium would operate according to the principles of world banking, and in no way would it be allowed to fall under the control of political factors. If that kind of reputable banking institution existed, foreign capital would be invested more freely, and even our own people would then bring their money back to the country. Not only would an immense quantity of foreign exchange come back which our workers are holding abroad, but also enterprises would no longer be able to resort to the well-known misappropriations as has been the case up to now.

We fell into the waters of the present inflation during the 1970's, when consumption was between 7 and 13 percent higher than production. That is the time when our debts were created, and all of that has had to be covered. That kind of mistake takes a period between five and seven years for the economy to be able to renew itself.

At an inflation rate of 100 percent we distance ourselves by one-third from dinar convertibility. Dr Ristic cannot cite any country that gave up its own currency so easily. Inflation at a rate of 100 percent now means only an additional printing of money, and 5,000 dinar bills are already becoming small for all practical purposes.

"For 40 years we have had a price system in which the price disparities and price scissors were wide, in which we exported for a song, in which we made a present to the world of between 3 and 5 percent of the national income, and that is much more than we have been giving for Yugoslav science, which alone is able to lead society out of the crisis. This is utter degradation and pauperization of the country, and in addition we fell into the clutches of the International Monetary Fund and accepted propositions that in practical terms take science backward. We tried to treat the crisis by trampling on our own currency, which is something unheard of in theory. We have to fight so that the dinar becomes convertible, not give in to a formula that calls for another devaluation of 25 to 30 percent. Inflation growing at the speed of a meteor manages to destroy the entire effect of devaluation in three months. If at this point we were to knock down the dinar even 100 percent, those effects would be erased even before October.

"What in a practical way can be done at this point?"

"In a situation like we have today, corrections of the economic system could be undertaken, and the dinar would also recover thereby. If prices were completely worked out in six months, this would have an effect on distribution and the tax system. All of the burdens that the economy is now groaning under have to be pruned back at least 50 percent, and that also applies to the administrative staff of self-managed communities of interest and sociopolitical communities. Perhaps all of that would not bring such great benefits, but it is worth trying. In any case we should not look on calmly as the dinar falls. Dinar convertibility, the change in the economic structure, and raising the rate of economic growth, along with market-oriented economic activity, are the imperatives of the present moment," Dr Zarko Ristic concluded.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Educational Series for Teenagers Planned 24000387a Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 Aug 87 p 3

[Article by Zuzana Michajlova, PhD, Methodological Center of the Prague Trade Union Council: "Education Without a Necktie"; first paragraph is RUDE PRAVO introduction]

[Text] The fact that you devote yourselves openly in RUDE PRAVO to such burning and topical questions as alcoholism and drug addiction among young people is very positive. In past years, it was far too often emphasized that a negligible percentage of victims was involved.... Current population statistics fail to record with adequate accuracy how many young people come to Prague to attend advanced and middle schools, how many come to attend secondary level apprentice schools. However, it is known that one-third of all Czechoslovak students are concentrated in this area.

Apart from education, are they offered adequate stimuli in the cultural and sports areas, which would exert a positive influence on their lives? I am not 100 percent convinced of this. In addition to these students, some 250,000 children are growing up in Prague. The young generation (15-24 years of age) in the population of Prague represents virtually half of the total number of inhabitants. Thus, in terms of its importance, the young generation is the most important factor in the future of the city. State and social organs and organizations in Prague devote a great deal of attention to the young generation. A program for creating conditions for the socialist development of children and young people in the capital city of Prague through 1990 has been approved. The program emphasizes the importance of political education, of social involvement, and of the purposeful utilization of free time enjoyed by the youth of Prague. If we use the term "free time," then the decisive aspect is not only the quality of its content, the filling of the amount of organized free time, but also a need to teach young people how to use it. However, are they capable and willing to actively accept the content of "free time"?

It is beyond doubt that the roots of growing delinquency are not only in the unorganized social relationships but also are connected with many-sided frustrations—with sensuous, emotional, and intellectual frustrations to which the young person is exposed and for which the young person does not know how to compensate. He or she then seeks compensation in passive types of entertainment that also lead to antisocial actions. The Prague Trade Union Council has been dealing with the negative manifestations seen among the youth of Prague for a number of years. In 1985, a proposal was worked out for an experimental youth club, whose activities would capture at least part of the young people (primarily students at secondary specialized training centers) and

through which it would be gradually possible to eliminate some of the negative phenomena and to attract the unorganized youth through a sensitive approach on the part of specialists. Several meetings took place involving the Prague Trade Union Council (POR) and the National Educational Committee (NVP), but it was not possible to open the club. However, at least a working group was created with the Commission of Youth and Physical Training of the NVP. Nevertheless, the Prague Trade Union Council did not give up the idea of preventing undesirable phenomena and actually made the transition from words to deeds. It entrusted the Prague Methodological Center of Cultural Educational Activities of the Revolutionary Trade Union Council with the preparation of a proposal for the utilization of free time with a view toward the increasing criminal activities on the part of young people, with a view to the structure of criminality of young people connected with the spread of nonalcoholic drug addiction. The first steps of a "minimal preventive program" were agreed upon, which were realized in the form of an experiment conducted in the most industrialized sector of Prague 9, where a high percentage of working class youth is also concentrated. What is involved? There are four educational programs targeted at the legal and moral conscience of students at the Secondary Specialized Training Center (SOU), designed to combat alcoholism and drug addiction and aimed at partnership relationships and at solving specific life situations. These psychoshows, which are entitled "Education Without a Necktie," were videotaped. The same problem is dealt with by the video program entitled "The Hazardous Disco," which is offered by the Methodological Center as a supplement for meetings and club evenings involving a discotheque situation. The use of authentic pictures that document accompanying phenomena connected with the abuse of drugs, and the emotional nature of the film when combined with the spoken text, act in a uniquely appealing method. For the school year of 1987/1988, additional programs are being prepared. The first of these is a panel of opinions, questions, and answers that will run, beginning in September, on a regular basis on the last Wednesday of the month in the small auditorium of the Radio Palace. The program is designed to help young apprentices solve life situations and gain orientation with respect to interpersonal relationships. Among those present will be teachers, psychologists, sociologists, lawyers, sexologists, criminologists, and specialists in drug dependency. The opportunity will exist to obtain consultation with respect to other questions. Preparations are under way for a campaign involving an actively utilized weekend—a program entitled "Youth 1987." The audience asked psychologists, who spent time with them, how to spend free Saturdays and Sundays in Prague, when they do not go home to their parents and remain at the apprentice boarding facility? They admitted that they were at a loss to know what to do with respect to the selection of cultural activities that are currently being offered. And so, a "verification" weekend will be devoted to them in the Julius Fucik Park of Culture and Rest. In collaboration with employees of the park, the program is designed

in such a way that each of the visitors could find that which is of interest to him. Apart from cultural programs, the program will be enriched by the inclusion of physical training defense activities, by a disco on ice, and by the availability of table tennis, a swimming meet, a bicycle cross-country race, a track meet, indoor soccer, miniature golf, air rifle firing, dodgem cars, and chess facilities.

The Prague Trade Union Council approached the discussed problem responsibly. However, the remedy for negative phenomena among young people does not consist only of these types of work; it is not merely a matter for one social organization.

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Change of Views on Criminality Urged
24000392a Prague *LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE* in Czech
15 Aug 87 p 1

[Article: "To Strengthen the Legal Conscience"]

[Text] At one time the view prevailed that the creation of a new society, the rise of new social and interpersonal relationships will more or less automatically lead to eliminating criminality. However, it turned out that these ideas were unfounded—even in the current era of development, criminality remains a serious problem, and the successful fight against criminal activity remains a significant task. And this task not only concerns the so-called organs active in criminal proceedings, but it also touches the broadest strata of the population. After all, various investigations involving public opinion that have been conducted over the past decades have pointed up the close connection between the status of legal conscience on the part of the populace and criminal activity.

Research conducted in recent times (for example, last year) produced the following interesting finding, among others: the approach on the part of the populace with respect to various types of acts is quite different. Murders, damage to health, assault, burglaries, and theft—generally, the criminal acts aimed against the interests of an individual—are universally and strictly condemned. Public opinion is already far more tolerant with respect to so-called economic criminality, for example, that involving pilferage of socialist property and particularly with respect to bribery and corruption of various kinds. And it is precisely the perpetrators of economic criminal acts that each year account for roughly one-fourth of the total number of persons prosecuted, and their unauthorized gains are far greater than, say, those of minor thieves—they are not infrequently in the millions. Some

uncovered cases are known from past years. One was the case of a perpetrator who organized an extensive fencing network dealing with purchasing foreign exchange in the sale of TUZEX coupons, and also smuggled silver to Austria—over a period of 5 years he thus "helped himself" to Kcs 20 million. Another large case involved the black market in manpower for construction and maintenance, which yielded a group of about 35 persons some Kcs 75 million—more than 230 socialist organizations made this criminal activity possible through their benevolent approach.

The perpetrators involved in these and a number of other cases have already been sentenced to appropriate punishment. But specialists in the area of the law are generally in agreement that there continues to be ignorance with respect to additional similar cases. Logically, the question arises as to what economic managers are up to, what control officials are doing if such things can happen at all. Economic managers and control personnel have the legal duty of reporting any kind of economic criminal activity to organs of the state prosecutor or to the National Security Corps. However, it remains a fact that each year more than 85 percent of economic violations are uncovered by members of the police; enterprises and organizations uncover less than 10 percent, and the remainder are accounted for by control officials and by alert citizens.

Apart from the economic damage it causes, economic criminality also results in tremendous educational and moral damage. It is difficult to persuade young people that everyone is measured by the same yardstick when they encounter practical violations of the law in their own workplaces that are motivated by personal, group, or local interests or if morale, economic discipline, or discipline in general stands in the deep shadow of yearning or unauthorized gain (be it directly financial in nature or in the form of various advantages and reciprocal services). We live today in a time of fundamental socioeconomic changes that are supposed to elevate our society to a higher level. It would be a mistake to believe that these changes are taking place only on the economic level. Changes in our thinking and conduct are an inseparable component of these changes also. And the level of the legal conscience of the citizenry is inseparably connected with this. After all, we do not desire to rebuild and strengthen our economy in order to permit the dishonest people and thieves to benefit from it to the same extent or even better than has been the case hitherto.

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